

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

"First the Loade, then the ear, then the full grain in the ear"

The Monitor's view

Monday, January 3, 1977

Trouble in South Africa

Violence once more has erupted in South Africa, this time to mark the year-end holiday season. Clashes have occurred in the Cape Town area between militant black students and black migrant workers, mostly of the Bura tribe from what has become the newly independent Transkei Republic. The trouble stemmed from the student demand for a period of holiday mourning for blacks killed in previous rioting in Soweto and other black townships near Johannesburg earlier this year. The students called for a boycott on Christmas shopping and celebrations, and the Bura strongly opposed such a ban.

It would be an oversimplification to conclude that this is only another tragic instance of black inhumanity to other black Africans, lending credence to the contention of some white South Africans that blacks cannot even get along peacefully with one another, let alone cooperate on a national scale. But there is more to the latest outbreak than that. For the root of the violence harks back to what blacks regard as white oppression, enforced by white South African police inflicting many of the casualties with their weapons in an effort to restore order.

Yet one can only deplore the savage aspect of these disorders, while understanding the reasons on both sides for pursuing such a course.

The black-against-black aspect of the conflict, meanwhile, seems to narrow down to a

clash between pragmatism on the part of blacks such as the Bura wanting to celebrate the holidays normally and without extra work stoppages on the one hand, and idealism (or, as some would call it, ideological motivation) on the part of militant black students wanting to continue the struggle for greater black freedom on the other.

In any event, the trouble usually requires police intervention, leading to additional casualties, a risk the militants seem ready to accept. Last August, it was Zulu workers wanting to continue to work who fought black militants in Soweto, leading to 30 fatalities and 100 injured. Again the police were heavily involved.

One harrowing result of the violence was the flight of an estimated 5,000 residents from the black township of Nyanga, near Cape Town, because of fear of further fighting. Many black homes were reported burned or looted during the Christmas weekend.

South Africa now has been through six months of unusually severe racial disorders. Some of the restiveness may stem from black awareness of newly independent Mozambique and Angolia nearby, and of the present crisis in Rhodesia, just across the border. But violence alone, whether of black or white origin, seldom achieves a true objective or keeps it far long. That is something all South Africans, whatever their color, should be remembering and striving to see implemented in their relations with each other at this time.



The Christian Science Monitor

Combating oil spills

Every time a big tanker spews forth its oil into the sea due to a major mishap, people begin to think again about the consequences — and how to prevent a recurrence. The large oil spill from the Argo Merchant on Nantucket Shoals off the U.S. East Coast was not the first to pose a threat to shore communities, fishermen, birds, fish, and the ecology of a wide area. Such incidents are a grim reminder of the nation's continuing vulnerability to oil spills.

What can be done about it? What lessons can be learned from this unfortunate affair? One certainly is the need to find a way to lighten up the regulations governing oil tankers operating worldwide under flags of convenience, such as that of Liberia. The Argo Merchant was under Liberian registry and apparently had a long record of previous problems. The Torrey Canyon, a tanker that spilled its oil into the sea off Britain in 1967, was also of Liberian registry, as are many others.

The likelihood is that there are quite a few tankers of elderly vintage and similar registry that ought not to be in the business of hauling oil in this day and age. Under flags of convenience, safety regulations for the ship are not always sufficiently enforced, nor are the crew's qualifications always adequate for the tremendous responsibility of operating a potentially lethal or destructive vessel. Many such vessels do not have segregated ballast tanks to be used only for water when sailing empty; instead they use oil tanks for their ballast and then pump out a mixture of oil residue and water, with resulting pollution.

It probably is time to get tough with such operators. The licensing countries care little, aside from collecting fees. But tankers that do not meet all the requirements should be barred from ports and territorial waters unless they comply with rules more strictly.

Another lesson is the urgent need to provide funds for the costly cleaning-up process and to compensate adequately those whose livelihood or property is damaged by oil spills. It is difficult to win damages if a ship owner is not financially responsible or properly covered by insurance. So measures to ensure that those who handle risky cargoes are able to pay when things go wrong are essential. International maritime regulations on this should be instituted, lightened up or enforced.

Better advance preparations for potential sea disasters also are in order. That means having quickly available the necessary apparatus to pump oil out of stranded or sinking tankers even under difficult sea and weather

conditions. We obviously are not ready at present to handle such situations expeditiously.

Another point: How large should tankers be? The latest mammoth strike some as embodying too much risk in one ship to justify the savings their carrying capacity offers. Their depth, turning and stopping ability pose problems that efficient, smaller tankers could avoid.

The suggestion for double bottoms meanwhile has been discarded, partly on grounds that many ruptures are from the sides, not bottom, partly because of the number of vessels with single bottoms now in being. To enforce costly structural changes in new tankers could lead to a shortage of sea haulers at a time when the U.S., for one, is increasingly dependent on oil imports. But any other feasible safety measures ought to be instituted, with less regard for cost than prevention of maritime catastrophes.

Finally, the Argo Merchant case ought to provide fresh impetus for the Law of the Sea Conference, due to reconvene next May, to produce an acceptable international treaty governing a host of ocean problems.

Round table, no; King Arthur, yes

The great round table in Britain's Winchester Castle turns out not to be the round table after all, as in King Arthur's Knights of the Round Table. Evidently "scientific tests," so vulnerable to tomorrow's enlightenment, are now supposed to be trusted, though no one has yet heard from the wizard Merlin, who was never wrong. Nor could be, because, as he modestly said, "my memories go forward," which should make today's science-fiction no surprise to him.

It was Merlin who had the idea for the round table in the first place, and if he wanted us to find one now that would pass all the "scientific tests," does anyone doubt that he could do it? "I'm cleverful and I'm fierce, and I've made kings," said Merlin, elevating Arthur "to be a mirror for the world." And what a mirror the Arthurian legend has been, with its roots in Wales and its branches reaching to Camelot still to be dreamed of, round tables or not.

The preceding words of Merlin were in the version of poet Edwin Arlington Robinson, just one of the literary figures drawn into the chivalric realm of these stories over the years. Now, from the unexpected quarter of novelist John Steinbeck's estate, comes the evidence

New man at Japanese helm

It came as no surprise that the veteran Takeo Fukuda has been chosen to set Japan's troubled political house in order as the new Prime Minister. But his task will not be an easy one. A top priority will be to reunite the badly splintered ruling Liberal Democratic Party, which suffered losses during the December 5 elections. Mr. Fukuda's predecessor, Takeo Miki, resigned to show that he personally took the blame for the setbacks, many of which were attributed to backsliding on Japan's Lockheed bribery scandal which involved a number of high political business figures.

The new leader has promised to reduce the factionalism among the Liberal Democrats, an

objective that will take both tact and iron resolve. With only a narrow majority in the lower house of the Diet, Mr. Fukuda needs support from the factions of Mr. Miki and other former prime ministers. Rivalry has been intense. At the moment, the Liberal Democrats control only 260 seats in the lower house of 511 members. Just to operate effectively, Mr. Fukuda will need another 10 or more supporting him, for most of which some political concessions will be required.

A major test meanwhile looms next summer, when elections for the upper house take place. There the Liberal Democrats hold 50 seats out of 252, or exactly half. If that is the Japanese public will have decided if Fukuda is fulfilling his promise of a thorough investigation of the Lockheed affair and to acknowledge the intense public pressure to eliminate widespread corruption in Japanese political and public life. Even before then, the new leader may find it difficult to govern because of his slim majority in the lower house.

In choosing his Cabinet, Mr. Fukuda will use the skills acquired over long years of political life to come up with a mixture of veteran ministers, new faces with no previous ministerial experience, and relative youngsters. Setting aside the party's usual tradition of seniority, he chose Ichiro Matsuyama, son of a former prime minister, as the new foreign minister. At the same time, however, he was careful to include in his Cabinet the venerable Eiichi Nishimura, one of those killed with Mr. Tanaka. Other ministers of careful political balancing were apparent in the selections.

Mr. Fukuda himself has had to wait a long time to reach the political pinnacle. Twice before he almost made it, only to be swept aside temporarily by political necessities that favored other men. And now that he has reached the peak of power, the problem will be to follow it.

Printed in Great Britain by King's Printing Works, Ltd., at the Christian Science Publishing Society, 200, Newbury Street, Boston, U.S.A. London Office, 4, 5 Grosvenor Place, London, W.1.

WEEKLY INTERNATIONAL EDITION

THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

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Monday, January 10, 1977

60¢ U.S.



Cecil Square, Salisbury

For Rhodesian whites, anxieties overshadow high living standard

Why Kissinger's plan for Rhodesia is evaporating

By Michael Holman
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Salisbury, Rhodesia — The near euphoria with which many of Rhodesia's 270,000 whites welcomed Prime Minister Ian Smith's Sept. 24 acceptance of proposals for the establishment of an interim government leading to black majority rule has all but evaporated.

In its place is bewilderment, anxiety, and a reluctant acceptance that the Geneva conference on a Rhodesian settlement has probably failed and is unlikely to reconvene as scheduled later this month.

In a stormy two-hour session in Salisbury Jan. 1, British conference chairman Ivor Richard failed to persuade Mr. Smith to accept a British involvement in an interim government, a proposal designed to reassure whites about stability in the transition to African rule, and to convince blacks that the transition would not be reversed.

It is probably the only device capable of reconciling the Rhodesian leader and the four main nationalist parties representing the majority of the country's 6.2 million blacks.

Yet only 18 weeks ago it seemed that an end was in sight to the dispute which began on

Nov. 11, 1965, with Mr. Smith's unilateral declaration of independence from Britain, and which over the past four years has escalated into a war costing nearly 4,000 lives and threatening stability in all southern Africa.

Majority rule had apparently been ceded back in September, but it was a tolerable two years away. In this interim a council of state with equal racial representation would be supreme in a two-tier administration, and the ministries of defense and police would be in white hands.

Indeed it seemed that Mr. Smith himself would be chairman of the council.

The accompanying pledge of a massive internationally backed development and compensation fund still held white fears about pensions, African take-over of jobs, and loss of assets.

Subsequently Mr. Smith made it clear that (as he interpreted it) "majority rule" did not mean one-man, one-vote — the platform of African nationalism — for the black majority that outnumbered whites 22 to 1. Nor did the two-year interim envisaged lead irrevocably to an African government.

Rather it was an experimental period of consultation making, the final results of which

The transatlantic friendship: the risk of Moscow meddling

By Joseph C. Harsch

The biggest challenge facing the United States and its friends and allies during the year ahead will continue to be Soviet pressure on the fabric of the alliance. If anything, that pressure is likely to increase in scope and intensity.

The foundation of the alliance, by whatever means, is obviously the thing Moscow would most like to have happen. Were it to happen, Moscow would be king of the castle. It's what would be the strongest single thing in the world.

But if the alliance grows in vitality and security Moscow will continue to be what it is now, merely the second power in the world — and a fairly poor second at that. After all, it has no willing friend or ally anywhere in the world.

The United States is at the hub of a network of associations, friendships, and alliances, which embrace all of the Americas except for Cuba, the lion's share of Africa, most of Islam, the Philippines, Japan, and, for the moment at least, China.

The serious question is whether the fabric of that system of associations, friendships, and alliances will grow stronger or weaker during 1977. There can be no doubt that it will be under every form of pressure Moscow can bring to bear against it, as in the past. It is undeniably stronger now than it was a year ago. President-Elect Carter has been handed the task of carrying on the good work of preserving and strengthening it still further.

The form of pressure most obvious at the moment is the continued buildup of Soviet weapons. Most noticed by Europeans is the steady increase in the number of Soviet tanks deployed in Eastern Europe and presumably available for a possible thrust across the north German plain.

Naval authorities notice the steady rise in number of attack submarines which could in theory be used to cut the sea-lanes vital to American support of its allies in Western Europe and in Asia.

Strategic warfare specialists notice the continued deployment of new types of long range ballistic missiles. These include many presumably aimed at targets in Western Europe. The Soviets are also beginning to deploy movable missiles. And there is much discussion over the extent to which they have built up defenses against nuclear attack.

Some of the most hawkish American experts insist that the Soviets now can protect most of their working population against nuclear weapons. If true this would mean that they are on the way to a "first strike" capability.

Perhaps the most dangerous thing about the weapons buildup is the doubt it sows in the minds of the allies about American ability and willingness to defend them. Is Moscow building weapons with an actual eye to war, or as a form of psychological warfare which could in

Corruption charges plague Rabin's party

By Francis Omer
Special Correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Charges of corruption in the Israeli establishment which led to the suicide Jan. 3 of Housing Minister Abraham Ofer could hurt the election prospects of Premier Yitzhak Rabin's Labor Party.

Elections are due in May following Mr. Rabin's dismissal from his Cabinet last month of members of the National Religious Party which left him without a majority in the Knesset (Parliament). The Prime Minister had been hoping to get a clear mandate from the electors to strengthen his hand in expected negotiations this year on the Arab-Israeli conflict.

The Housing Minister had been linked by a newspaper investigative reporter to alleged illegal real-estate transactions. One deal, journalist Yigal Lavi wrote in the newspaper Ha'aretz, involved purchase of land from Arabs in East Jerusalem in 1973 for construction of apartments for Jews. Mr. Lavi stated that about \$1.5 million was paid out, but only \$875,000 reached the Arabs. He said the money was paid by a government-related construction

*Please turn to Page 12

Carter's blue jeans: where they fit and where they don't

By Louise Sweeney
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington — President-Elect Carter's vow to wear blue jeans in the White House may give a further lift to sales of the denim pants that are already a growth industry.

"We're delighted about the Carter statement," says a spokesman for Levi Strauss & Co., which this year will sell \$1.2 billion worth of jeans and related items, up from \$1 billion last year. "But it will be difficult to translate that into sales figures." Like other jeans spokesmen, he was cautious but hopeful about the effect of the Carter statement on sales of the already-popular pants.

The Levi Strauss spokesman, director of corporate communications Bud Johns, noted: "Jeans are just a people's garment, and that may be what Carter is relating to — they cut

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Highlights



JAPANESE EXPORTS. By working constantly to keep its methods up to date, Japan surges ahead of Europe in quick, cheap, efficient production and captures the export markets. Its success in shipbuilding particularly hurts the European Community who want to share orders on a 50-50 basis with Japan. **Page 4**

WOMEN AND PEACE. South African women of all races are launching a peace movement. In Johannesburg, Monitor correspondent June Goodwin talks to one of the executive committee of the Vreugde vir Vrede, Afrikaners for "Women for Peace." **Page 6**

POWER OF THE SUN. Experts believe they are about to discover how to tap the energy source that powers the sun. But it may take decades to progress from the laboratory to the power plant. **Page 20**

THEATER OUT-OF-DATE? "Why theater at all? Is it an anachronism?" asks British director Peter Brook. Certainly not, says Monitor columnist Melvin Markovitz, and explains why. **Page 24**

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THE CHRISTIAN SCIENCE MONITOR

Founded in 1908 by Mary Baker Eddy, Author of "The Christian Science Bible" and "The Christian Science Monitor"

Board of Trustees: Glenn A. Evans, Eric G. Galt, Zola K. Hilditch, Editor and Manager: John Hughes

Editorial Office: 1000 Massachusetts Avenue, Boston, Mass. 02115

Published daily except Sundays, Holidays and the U.S.A. Fourth International Edition (available outside of North America only) is published at selected intervals in daily North American editions and material prepared exclusively for the International Edition

Subscription Rates: North American Editions - One year \$40, six months \$24, three months \$12, single copy 25¢.

To place a new subscription in the continental United States, call this toll-free number - 800 222-7990. All other communications must be mailed to address below.

International Edition - One year \$25, six months \$12.50, single copy 60¢ (U.S.). Surface mail delivery throughout the world. Airmail rates upon request.

Registered as a newspaper with the D.P.O. London, England. Address of the News: Christian Science Monitor, 1000 Massachusetts Avenue, Boston, Mass. 02115. For latest service, changes of address should be received four weeks in advance. Changes are made for free within 60 days after any given address.

Advertising rates given on application. Write endeavoring to accept only reliable advertisements. The Christian Science Monitor will not be responsible in the public for advertisements, and the right to decline or discontinue any advertisement is reserved.

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FOCUS

Russia's 'believers'

By David K. Willis

Moscow. On the eve of Christmas elsewhere in the world, fresh evidence came to light that religious influence here remains strong enough to concern the officially atheistic Soviet Union.

A Soviet writer has just conceded "the stability of religiosity." He calls it "worrying" that "a part of the young people are interested in religion," and estimates the number of believers at about 20 percent of the adult population (or about 32.7 million).

A call for more vigorous Communist Party work against religious influence recently appeared in the party newspaper Pravda. The authors of the article commended a television station in Odessa, on the Black Sea, for a program called "Atheistic Dialogues." They urged radio stations to dramatize works with antireligious themes by Mark Twain, John Galsworthy, Maxim Gorky, and Honoré Balzac.

Trying to judge the extent of religion in this huge country is exceptionally difficult for the outsider. He can visit the candle-lit services of the Russian Orthodox Church, hear the chants, and see the fervor of the congregations. He can talk to Muslim, Jewish, and other religious leaders and followers. He can comb statistics. But answers are always clouded with uncertainty.

Western estimates of the number of believers vary widely, from 30 to 40 million (out of the total population of 237 million) to

more than 150 million. The Soviet Government itself says it has no relevant statistics, but it insists that the number of believers is falling steadily.

It is generally assumed that the bulk of congregations here are middle-aged or older, and are predominantly women. That certainly was borne out to this correspondent on a recent Saturday afternoon in the monastery at Zagorsk, 50 miles from Moscow. The worshippers at the famed Trinity Church were elderly, working women, their heads wrapped in shawls as they bowed low to the altar, bought candles, wrote out prayers for the bearded priest, and joined in chants.

For these reasons, the remarks of writer P. P. Slavnyi in the reference journal of the first series of Problems of Scientific Communism appear to be significant.

Mr. Slavnyi, reviewing a brochure entitled "Public Opinion and Scientific Atheist Propaganda," says that besides the 20 percent of adults he estimates to be believers, another 10 percent are undecided.

Taking the adult population of the Soviet Union at 163.5 million (as given in Pravda in June of last year), this would mean that another 16.3 million Soviets, or a total of some 46 million, may be believers.

The rest of the population, he says, are nonbelievers, but the stability of religious influences "bears witness to the existence of processes contributing to its regenera-

tion." This is particularly true, he says, since "a certain number of believers" belong to the generations raised since 1917 - and thus have been open to the official discouragement of religion here.

The brochure itself was published by the Leningrad chapter of the Znanie Society of the Russian Federated Republic. "Znanie" means "knowledge," and the society presents regular lectures and publications on various aspects of science and politics.

According to Mr. Slavnyi, the brochure gives results of some surveys in Leningrad and the surrounding area among various age groups, including schoolchildren.

Some students thought religion preached "humanism" and "offered a moral ideal." Almost 12 percent opposed scientific atheist propaganda. Almost 20 percent said a person should be able to believe if he wants to. Declaring oneself a believer here generally means being denied access to higher office, so it is possible that the percentages are low.

Soviet sources dismiss Western estimates of believers and religious influence. Another brochure published last year said 50 percent of adults in cities were nonbelievers.

The Pravda article (Dec. 11) urged party workers in present atheism as a positive, "solid dialectic-materialistic world outlook" and not just a counter to religion. It called religion "illness" and said it breeds passivity and inertia.

It made particular note of young people "not wishing to drop into church." Sometimes, the article added, the young people drink too much at religious feasts and miss work the next day.

S. Africa: a year of change and challenge

By June Goodwin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Johannesburg. At the end of the most eventful year in South Africa for more than 15 years, the only thing certain about the future is that change is inevitable in the system of apartheid, as the legal separation of the races here is called.

No one knows how fast or in exactly what way the changes will come. But an altering of thinking has begun both with blacks and with whites.

The independence of neighboring Angola and Mozambique, following the procession to independence of a string of African states before them, was the watershed.

South African blacks said to one another that if blacks can rule in Mozambique and Angola, we should have more say over our own lives.

After Mozambique and Angolan independence, school students marched in Johannesburg's black township of Soweto and many paid for the protest with their lives. After Mozambican and Angolan independence, whites became alarmed about the Marxist governments at their borders. First the mood among many young white men was: Why should we go to the border to defend a system (apartheid) we don't like? Gradually, their thinking has shifted back to a conviction that communism is worse than apartheid and must be fought.

The Nationalist government of Prime Minister John Vorster is trying its best to appear to be intransigent. The government's attitude is that apartheid is not only right and will continue.

But the substance behind the stance is a creeping alteration of the system: Open some parks to all races, allow mixing in some hotels, allow mixed sports in some games, give black parents more power over their children's schools. But all the while, make a very loud noise about apartheid's never changing so as to divert attention from the facts.

Still, the government needs to move on to bigger changes. Introducing electricity to all of Soweto would be dramatic and not even contrary to apartheid.

More difficult, but very effective, would be the transfer of Bantu (African) education to the purview of the national education department, thus fulfilling a demand of the students and moving to assuage discontent where it has been most violent.

Little by little - some say too little - whites



Commuters head for Cape Town railroad station

South Africa: a change of thinking has begun both with blacks and whites

are adapting. The thing they find most irritating is what they see as the double standard of Western, industrialized countries. This is especially true after a week in December, when the United Nations published once again the inequities of the South African system.

Why, the whites ask, does the world continually condemn the injustices in South Africa when there are worse things happening in other African states?

It is a fair question. The answer is: Yes, there is a double standard. But it is white South Africans who have made it.

As long as whites claim, as the South African Broadcasting Company did in a radio commentary on Christmas Eve, that South Africa has a Western, civilized culture, South Africa will be treated differently from other countries in Africa.

More will be expected by Western countries of the whites in South Africa, because they themselves have claimed standards different from Uganda, Angola, and Mozambique.

Another aspect of the double standard is that journalists, although limited in what they can report from South Africa, often cannot even get inside some other African countries to report conditions there.

W. Berlin's vital ties to E.C.

By David Mutch
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

West Berlin. It would be easy to walk by the West Berlin Information office of the European Community without noticing it. It is just a suite of offices in a building on the Kurfirstendamm, the main shopping, restaurant, and entertainment avenue in the city.

But this office has considerable political and economic importance for West Berlin. It represents the City's direct ties with the nine-member European Community a link which the Soviet Union is not happy about.

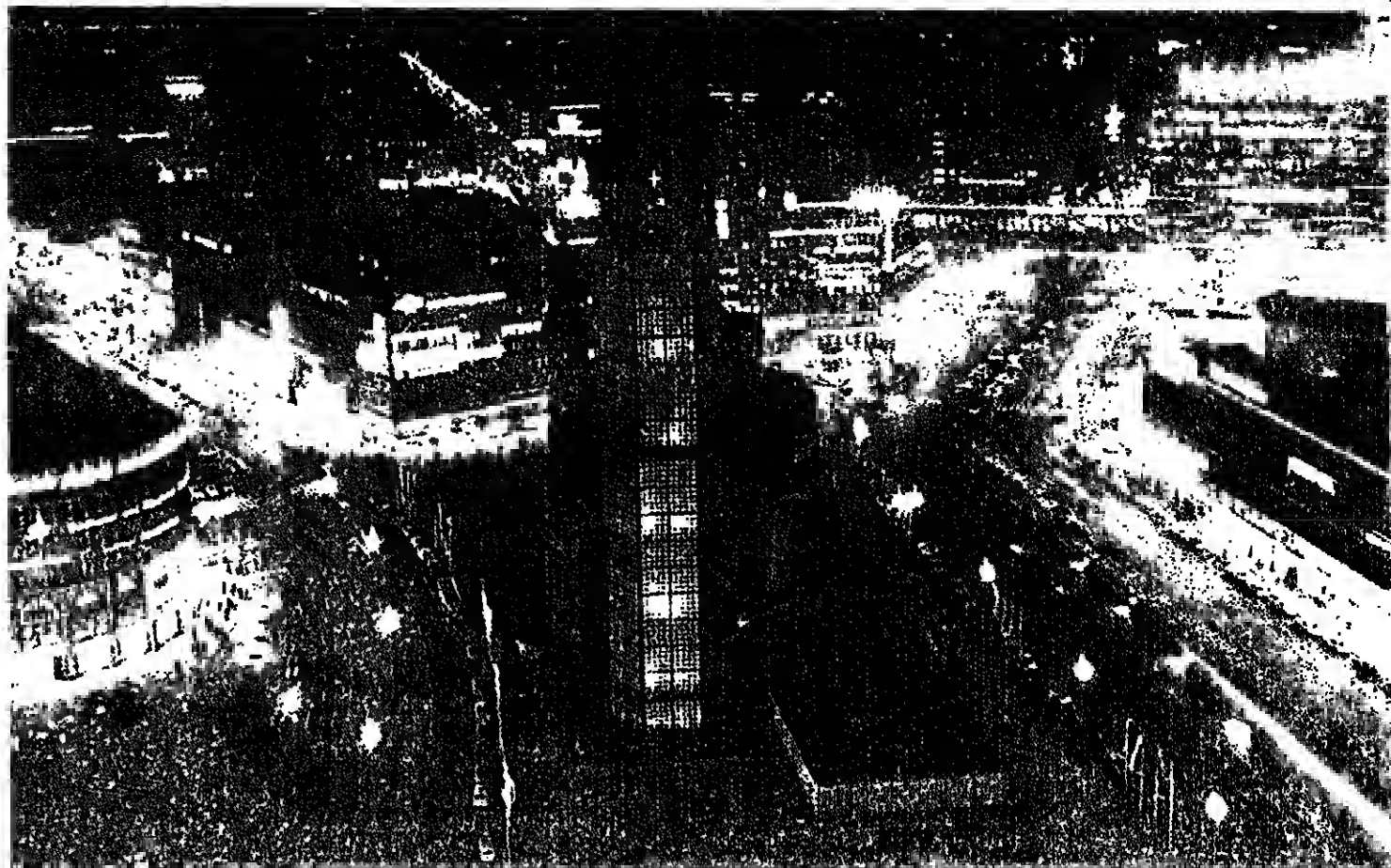
In a recent interview, Ernst Freisberg, director of this Information office, said: "Few people realize how close and how firmly set in European law are the relations between West Berlin and Western Europe as a whole."

He pointed out that in the Treaty of Rome establishing the European Community there are two direct references to West Berlin.

One is a declaration by all the signatories that they have regard for "the special position of Berlin and the need to afford it in the support of the free world" and that the community will take all necessary measures to "promote Berlin's development and to ensure its economic stability."

The other declaration is by West Germany, which states that the Treaty of Rome shall equally apply to West Berlin.

The day-to-day life of the city is very dependent on this direct tie to Western Europe's economic and political life. Much of West Berlin's food comes from Denmark and the Nether-



Remodeled Kaiser Wilhelm Memorial Church, Hardenbergstrasse and Kurfirstendamm

West Berlin: its economy depends on links to Western Europe

lands as well as West Germany, and 40 percent of West Berlin's exports go to European Community members. Out of the 11 West German states, only Hamburg and Bremen (both with large ports and related benefits) produce more goods and services per inhabitant than West Berlin.

The European Community's growing trade relations with third world countries is another vital tie with the world for Berlin.

The community's Berlin office, which is a subsidiary of its Bonn office, acts as liaison for

special funds coming to West Berlin. It also represents the community at trade fairs, and provides information in private businesses.

West Berlin is represented in the European Community by West Germany.

These legal and practical links between West Berlin and the community will be expanded in 1978 when EC countries are due to elect the European Parliament directly. According to its population count, West Berlin will then have two members in the community's parliament. It now has one appointed member. However, it

has not yet been decided whether these two will be elected or appointed as West Berlin members of the West German Parliament.

The Soviet Union in August, 1976, sharply protested plans to include West Berlin in any form in the elected European Parliament. The argument is that such an arrangement would violate the 1971 Four Power Agreement on Berlin, signed by the Soviets, Britain, France, and the United States. The three allied Western powers have refused this protest, but the subject will not go away.

Portugal steps gingerly into the new year

By Helen Gibson
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Lisbon. Portugal greeted the new year with a small degree of pride in its achievements over the past 12 months but a much greater sense of gloom about the immediate future.

For the Portuguese, 1976 proved the calmest year since the coup that overthrew the previous right-wing regime in April, 1974. It also brought the country the first free elections in nearly half a century for a president, a permanent parliament, and local municipal bodies.

"Democratic institutions were reborn in Portugal in 1976," an editorial in the prestigious Independent weekly Expresso said. "But," it added, "we are embarking on 1977

with a certain bluster taste in the mouth."

For the main problem that nagged 1976 - a tolling economy - still looms over 1977. Wherever one looks the prospect seems grim. Grimness of all is the latest financial news. According to published reports, foreign reserves in the Bank of Portugal will only last for another two weeks. As Portugal imports 90 percent of its food, the situation looks desperate indeed. Add to that a \$1.8 billion budget deficit, 28 percent inflation, and 16 percent unemployment, and it would seem that the minority Socialist government has no hope whatsoever.

In fact, Prime Minister Mario Soares has fixed all his hopes on a promised emergency aid package from the United States and Western Europe that will total \$1.2 billion. He is depending on \$300 million from the Americans immediately, a subject that brought U.S. Undersecretary of State for the Treasury Charles

Yeo to Lisbon last Thursday. However, even this loan will only bail Portugal out until April or May.

And, Expresso commented in its editorial, all the loans in the world are only going to work if Portugal pulls itself together and gets back to work.

Production on the farms and in the factories, which plummeted during the first free-wheeling 18 months of revolution after April, 1974, has never really recovered. The huge nationalized sector, where a lack of authority still remains the overriding problem, is the most severely affected. With new labor laws aimed at fighting the increasing absenteeism, lateness, and indifference, the Socialists are trying to reverse the trend but are finding the going heavy. Meanwhile, the Communists have made political hay out of what they call the government's antiworker policies.

On the farm front, in the southern Alentejo wheat belt, the production picture is depressing. This area, the Communist Party's stronghold, was carved up in leftist land grabs during 1975 for some 200 Soviet-style collectives. But these have proved more of a drag on the economy than a help. They have soaked up more than \$70 million handed out to them in loans without any suggestion of repayment. Here, too, the government is trying to restore some law and order with the handing back of illegally occupied farms to their rightful owners.

The parties to the right of the Socialists are not giving the government a completely smooth run, either. None of the opposition parties want to see the government fall completely because all know that they could not govern without the Socialists, the country's most popular party. But neither are they prepared to make things any easier for the ruling group.

Northern Ireland: peace prospects are not all rosy

By Jonathan Hirsch
Special correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Dublin. Ireland welcomes in the new year with a growing likelihood that the illegal Provisional Irish Republican Army (IRA) will declare an open-ended cease-fire.

Yet this peace prospect brings nearly as much concern as hope.

All factions here seem to accept as inevitable that any IRA cease-fire must be launched with a prior show of force. The IRA's four-day Christmas truce began with a small flurry of hijackings and bombings, and ended with more of the same.

With the aim of proving that it acts from a position of strength - and to get rid of accumulated explosives which become dangerous if kept for too long - the IRA is expected to announce a long-term cease-fire with a major series of bombings throughout Northern Ireland.

One concern expressed here is that an IRA cease-fire will be taken as proof that it has signed a secret bargain with the British Government. The British Government firmly denies making any such deal. The IRA itself encourages rumors of a deal without either confirming or denying them.

Both the Irish Republic's government in Dublin and Northern Ireland's main Roman Catholic voice, the Social Democratic and Labour Party, regularly warn the British against negotiating with the IRA. Irish politicians both north and south of the border want Britain to deal with the island's elected representatives, not with terrorists.

So, added to other difficulties, the British Government must constantly reassure suspicious politicians here that it is not negotiating now and will not negotiate with the illegal IRA, either directly or indirectly.

To avoid being swept into what he calls the political whirlpool here, Roy Mason, British Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, has a ready and short answer to questions about various proposals for the province's future. "I'm prepared to listen," he says.

He is prepared to listen to current proposals for continued direct British rule, for various degrees of power-sharing, for a restored local parliament, even for Northern Ireland's independence.

Mr. Mason firmly rules out deals with the terrorists. He complimented the security forces Dec. 29 on bringing charges against more than 700 members of the Provisional IRA and

more than 400 from other extreme terrorist units during 1976. He stands firm on the government's decision last March to abolish special-category status in Northern Irish prisons. This means that terrorists convicted since March 1 can no longer claim special privileges but instead are treated as ordinary criminals.

Mr. Mason states that terrorists convicted since March 1 have no chance of any political amnesty. To Irish politicians this means that terrorists convicted before March 1 will be amnestied.

Amnesty for hard-core IRA men convicted before last March would not be enough on its own to win an IRA cease-fire. Instead, a cease-fire and an amnesty could spring not from any formal deal made with the IRA but from an overall understanding. Politicians here think that at some point in the future Britain might give IRA men seats at the negotiation table on the basis that they are no longer active terrorists.

Whether the IRA agrees to negotiations will depend on whether it thinks Britain itself wants to withdraw from Northern Ireland.

Europe

Europe fumes over Japan's exports

Tokyo defends trade, shipbuilding deals

By Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Tokyo
"Don't you think," the Japanese Trade Ministry official said a bit wistfully, "that supplying quality goods at reasonable prices to the world market is our contribution to the world economy?"

West Europeans, whose trade deficit with Japan this year is expected to reach \$4.2 billion emphatically do not agree. They see a steady inflow of Japanese goods menacing employment and hence the stability of their own societies in fields as diverse as shipbuilding and television sets.

Shipbuilding is currently the critical point in Japanese relations with the nine-member European Community (EC). The industry has been in a worldwide slump for the past couple of years, and the EC has proposed that it cut Japan's share of future orders on a 50-50 basis. (During the first three quarters of 1976, Japan took 85 percent of all orders placed by the principal industrialized countries.)

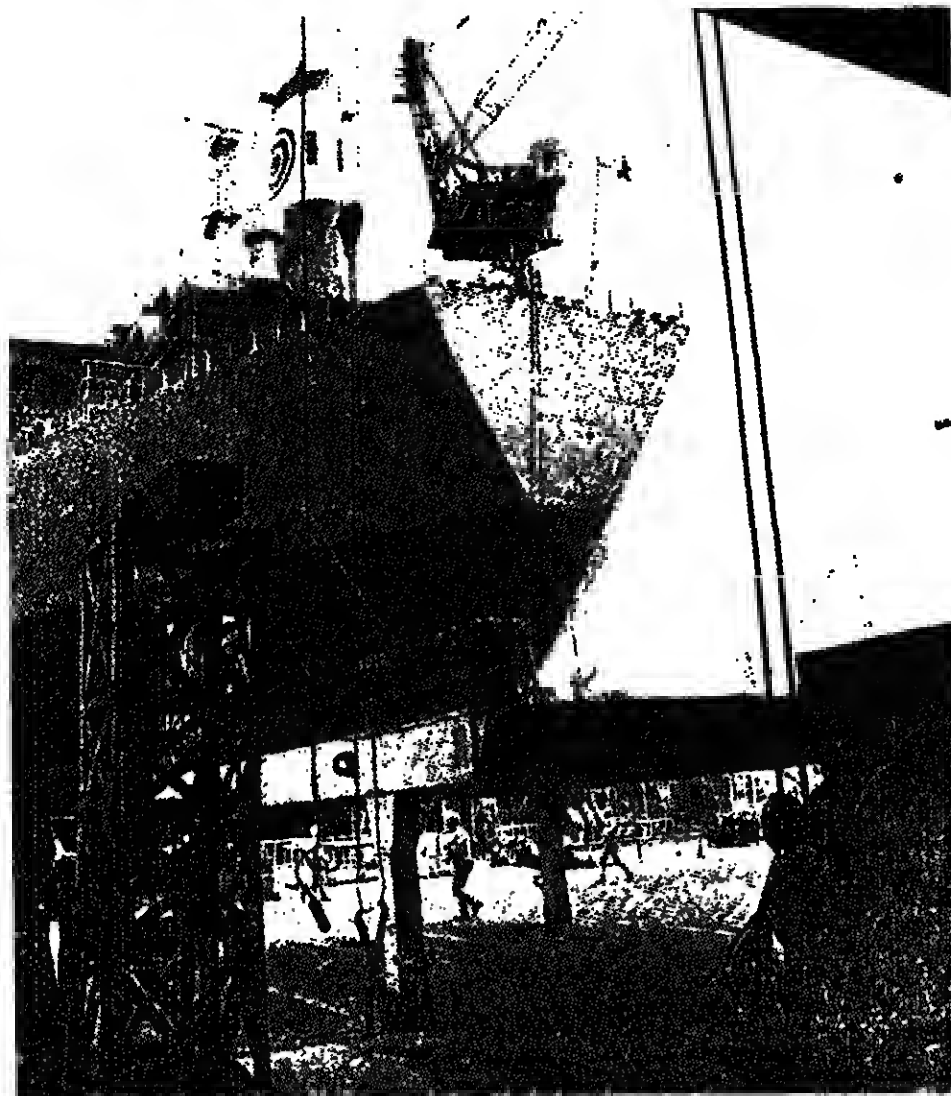
In bilateral talks just before Christmas, however, the Japanese said they were not convinced of the "appropriateness" of a 50-50 order-sharing. Japan, which built 17.4 million gross tons of ships in the peak year of 1974, has been steadily reducing production and expects to be down to 6.5 million tons by 1980, when the total world market is expected to be around 12 million tons. If Japan accepted the 50-50 offer it would have to cut production still further, to the four-million or five-million-ton level.

The EC has said that if Japan refuses to come to terms it will take steps to safeguard its own home market. So far, the Japanese seem to regard the threat as a bluff. They expect that the major shipbuilding countries of the EC, such as Britain, France, West Germany, and Denmark, will have difficulty coordinating their policies to the required degree.

In this climate, the next round of shipbuilding talks, which is to take place in mid-January, is not expected to move the two sides appreciably closer to a compromise.

Behind these economic disputes there is a fundamental problem of communication and understanding between Japan and Western Europe. The Europeans tend to think of Japan as an upstart competitor, remote from them geographically, and with a culture that is difficult for outsiders to penetrate.

There is no security tie between Europe and Japan as there is between Europe and the United States or between Japan and the United States. Nor does Japan import huge quantities of food and coal from Europe as it does from the U.S. The economies of Europe and Japan



Japanese shipyard — too busy to suit Europeans

By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

tend to be competitive rather than complementary. Without a strong effort by both sides to find common ground, continuous friction between them seems certain.

An official recently returned from a tour of European shipyards claimed that the Japanese could turn out ships cheaper than any other country because they had worked continuously at modernizing, computerizing, and making more efficient the shipbuilding process.

"What should we be made the scapegoat for the inefficiency of others?" he asked his sympathetic home audience.

"What we need between Europe and Japan," says Tadashi Yamamoto of the Japan Center for International Exchange, "is a kind of early warning system, so that problems like shipbuilding, or television sets, or whatever, can be worked out before they turn into emotional confrontations."

A beginning has been made, although progress has been slow. Mr. Yamamoto's center, a private organization, is sponsoring a Euro-Japan conference early in January, bringing together businessmen, officials, and scholars from both sides. The Shyssen Foundation has held seminars between Japanese and West German opinion leaders.

The Trilateral Commission, conceived by David Rockefeller and Prof. Zbigniew Brzezinski (soon to be President-Elect Carter's national security adviser) figuratively has been knocking Japanese, European, and American heads together to promote joint thinking about world problems.

The task now, as Mr. Yamamoto and like-minded colleagues see it, is to weave thicker, many-stranded ties that will soften if not entirely drown out the shrill accusations and counter-accusations of the day.

Shortages bite into Poland's economy

By Eric Bourne
Special correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Warsaw
• "From being an exporter of farm products, Poland has become a country of agricultural importers," a planning official here remarked wryly.

• Although it is the world's fourth largest producer and second largest exporter of coal, Poland recently had to introduce "controls" — virtually rationing — on sales to the population.

These are but two of the extraordinary anomalies of an economy that registered major gains in growth and living standards last year but ran into difficulties that have compelled substantial revision of the current five-year plan.

The coal shortage is largely due to a demand from a rapidly expanded industrial base. Production last year was up 22 percent on 1976 (the first year of the last plan), but demand rose even faster, however, because two-thirds of Poland's electricity is coal-generated and the people use coal almost exclusively to heat.

Greater demand anticipated
Demand will be greater still as more big industrial units, developed or modernized with Western credit — a linchpin of present economic strategy — become operative.

Three below-average crop years meant grave losses in agriculture, and massive amounts of grain and meat will have to be purchased abroad over the next few years.

But other factors in the situation and other emergency measures are endemic in most of Poland's persistent difficulties.

They include problems of management and general out-of-step efficiency (in use of materials and capacity), failure to stimulate labor discipline, a confused attitude toward agriculture, transportation bottlenecks, and a mixture of corruption, pilfering, and consumer hoarding.

And — in light of developments following the summer economic crisis — the regime's negative attitude toward white public desire for political "liberalization."

In recent weeks, the Polish press reported:
• Industry takes more than half of all energy produced but inefficient production management wastes 30 percent of it.

• Hoarding stock deficiencies raised late delivery of 11 million tons of coal to industry between January and September this year.

• Coal frequently "disappears" between distributors and intended customers.

The June food price shock, said the party newspaper Trybuna Ludu recently, started "psychosis of buying" and only of sugar (hardly put on ration) but also of coal.

"Panic-mongers and schemers were very active," it said. "Many accumulated several tons of coal 'just in case' for no resale, of course, at a higher price."

Tough tests ahead
This year will present severe tests for the government's whole economic process through the late 1970s.

Strict observance of recent decisions to rationalize and gradually reduce investments in proportion to national income and to ensure fulfillment of the higher targets set for consumer goods production and agriculture will be especially important.

Equally essential is a big improvement in quality if Poland is to sell more of its manufactured goods on Western markets. "Quality and exportability, not merely quantity" are the priorities demanded by Communist Party leader Edward Gierek.

Agriculture is the key. Until it produces more and relieves the country's heavy burden of food imports, the trade deficit with the West will continue, however much more (contingent too on Western economic recovery) industry may prove able to export.

Serious defects undoubtedly exist in the large private peasant sector — good land left idle because the aged owner can no longer work it, etc. — but the government's agricultural policy remains ideologically ambivalent.

Angola civil war reported to be far from over

Report from two journalists who spent six weeks in the company of the UNITA forces

By R. Bruce McColl
and David Smith

Special to The Christian Science Monitor

Mole, Angola
The civil war in Angola is far from over.

Claims by the Luanda government of Agostinho Neto that guerrilla activity has been largely quelled, and invitations to Western reporters and business interests to tour the country's main cities, convey the impression the dissidents are becoming exhausted.

But the experiences gained during a six-week visit to the guerrilla forces of the National Union for the Total Liberation of Angola (UNITA) in southern Angola indicate this impression is false.

All indications from this eyewitness view in the bush behind the government lines, as well as from interviews with refugees from the cities, emphasize UNITA, led by the popular Jonas Savimbi, has become better organized, both politically and militarily. The organization poses a serious challenge to the Angolan Government.

UNITA's surprising ability to survive and

retain popular support is a result of sociological, political, and economic factors, as well as the leadership of Dr. Savimbi himself.

Intelligence and diplomatic sources in both Africa and Europe report the November, 1976, offensive against UNITA by an estimated 10,000 Cuban and government forces failed to dislodge UNITA guerrillas in the Cuene region of southwestern Angola, 100 miles north of the border with Namibia (South-West Africa).

Diplomatic sources in Europe, who have met with Angolan Government officials, quote Luanda representatives as saying the economic war conducted by UNITA cadres in the cities, especially the vital port city of Lobito, has had considerable success. Business activities have been disrupted by work slowdowns and strikes, these sources say.

The return to guerrilla-type warfare by UNITA has reinforced popular resistance against what is seen as a "Cuban occupation." In the eyes of many UNITA supporters, refugees, and villagers, such warfare is a logical continuation of UNITA's eight-year struggle against the Portuguese.

Furthermore, these writers found an optimism and confidence among UNITA soldiers that the Cubans and Angolan Government forces were easier to fight than the Portuguese. The Cuban forces are only one-fourth the size of the Portuguese army deployed in the 1960s, and they rarely leave the towns, concentrating their strength along roads and near communication centers.

The Cubans make themselves even more unpopular when, according to numerous villagers, they slaughter communal cattle and steal crops because of the severe food shortages in the towns they occupy.

One prime indication of UNITA's resilience is its ability to sabotage the vital cross-country Benguela Railway. Despite all the government's efforts it has been unable to reopen the rail line for the transport of commercial freight to Zaire and Zaire.

The government claims Yngoshiv technicians have repaired all the bridges destroyed during and after the civil war. However, South African military sources and European diplomats report the railroad has extremely limited service from Benguela to Sâo Paulo, transporting only military equipment and troops.

UNITA guerrillas were almost nonchalant



UNITA major leads recruits in cheers

By David Smith

about sabotaging the railway, a task they have performed with regularity since 1961. Ex-railway workers among the guerrillas simply disconnect a length of track and hide it in the bush. Usually, they concentrate on key points around the central Angolan city of Luanda.

Many guerrillas expressed the view the Benguela Railway will remain if and when it ceases to be a strategic target in UNITA's military plans. There is little likelihood this will be in the near future.

In the months following the Alvor Agreement (January, 1975), which established a transitional government for Angola run by three parties, polls taken by the Portuguese, the organization for African Unity, the Swiss, and the American embassy placed UNITA's strength at 55 to 60 percent of the Angolan population. During the last six months support has been supplemented by a constant stream of city dwellers, from railway and hospital workers to accountants and teachers. These recruits add a more national representation to UNITA.

Since last February, the Angolan Government has made numerous attempts to subvert UNITA's popular support. Refugees report the destruction and closure of churches in the Bie, Moxico, and Huambo provinces, the removal of local leaders to "re-education camps" in northern Angola, and the destruction of villages in the southeast.

But such attempts to undercut popular support come up against Dr. Savimbi's multi-faceted popularity.

Unlike Mr. Neto and Holden Roberto, the leader of Angola (FNLA), Dr. Savimbi has spent the last 10 years inside Angola fighting from his guerrilla bases. Also, unlike the other two Angolan nationalist leaders, Dr. Savimbi is a dynamic speaker capable of holding his audience's attention for up to four hours.

Village headmen, seeing him as an archetypal African leader, have pledged support. Younger UNITA members consider him untainted by colonial ties or radical rhetoric. Urban workers view him as the advocate of black control of Angola's economy, a perception which fuels an resentment of the better educated multiracial people of mixed race who support the government.

In addition, popular sentiment, voiced constantly throughout central and southern Angola, holds that Dr. Savimbi and UNITA are not responsible for the war. The blame is placed on the Cubans first, and then on the government.

Dr. Savimbi claims — and intelligence reports substantiate — that UNITA's current fighting force numbers roughly 15,000 men and women. The guerrillas as well as most of the inhabitants in the camps are sufficiently armed with weapons left over from the civil war and captured from Cuban supply depots.

In the territory of central Angola, roughly the size of Pennsylvania, the sprawling network of camps and villages is broken only by Cuban and government enclaves in the towns. Throughout central and eastern Angola, these camps encircle the occupied towns. The guerrillas patrol the supply roads, ambushing military convoys.

In southeastern Angola, UNITA is supported by some 30,000 refugees from neighboring Namibia, and by guerrillas from the faction of the South-West African People's Organization (SWAPO) that is opposed to Samuel Nujoma's leadership of SWAPO. Having been supplied and armed by UNITA since 1969, members of this faction have intermarried with Angolans; they share ethnic heritages with UNITA supporters. These SWAPO guerrillas are said to number 5,000 and are presently operating under a Namibian born UNITA commander, Major Vankuluka.

Overall, it appears clear the government's attempts to eliminate UNITA have failed because of UNITA's solid roots among the people of southern and central Angola and because of Dr. Savimbi's leadership. UNITA has enough arms to fight indefinitely. The people these writers met said they were willing to fight on for another decade if necessary.

Dr. Savimbi and UNITA still maintain they will negotiate with the government if and when it is willing. If the Neto government fails to crush Dr. Savimbi's resistance, it may be forced into such negotiations.

Reading Carter-Kremlin détente signals

By David K. Willis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Moscow
The opportunity now exists for Washington and Moscow to make more progress toward genuine détente than at any time since 1972. The alternative is a new spiral in the nuclear arms race that could set relations back for many years.

Western analysts here draw this conclusion from the first series of signals, public and private, exchanged between the incoming Carter team and the long-entrenched Kremlin leadership. At the same time, they point to two main difficulties:

1. Are both sides willing to follow up their mild public statements toward each other with concrete concessions in the strategic arms limitation talks (SALT) which both put at the top of their détente agenda?

2. How strongly will President-Elect Carter adhere to his campaign calls for Moscow to comply with the Helsinki Declaration on Human Rights? A key question for Mr. Carter is whether U.S. concessions, if any, on SALT can extract Soviet concessions on human rights — or whether linking the two might be counterproductive.

Two of the latest signals between the superpowers:

• The long-delayed arrival here Dec. 30 of a new U.S. ambassador, Malcolm Toon, whose airport remarks to newsmen seemed deliberately low key. Mr. Toon omitted a sentence on human rights that was included in the text of his remarks later handed to reporters. The omitted phrase said: "We . . . must never lose sight of the humanitarian interest of all of the world community — east and west, north and south."

• A fresh public message to Mr. Carter from Soviet party leader Leonid I. Brezhnev which repeated the Soviet hope for progress on strategic arms and hoped summit meetings would "continue." Mr. Brezhnev took the opportunity provided by the Hearst newspapers' veteran foreign analyst, J. Kingsbury Smith, who reportedly submitted four questions to the Soviet Embassy in Washington for relay here.

Mr. Smith is known in the Kremlin for a rare interview granted to him by Joseph Stalin during the 1940s.

The Soviets delayed Mr. Toon's nomination by President Ford for almost three months. They gave no reason, but were thought to hope for his name to be withdrawn if Mr. Carter won the election. When Mr. Toon left here af-

ter his second tour of duty in the Embassy in 1963-65, critical press reports appeared about his allegedly hard-line attitude.

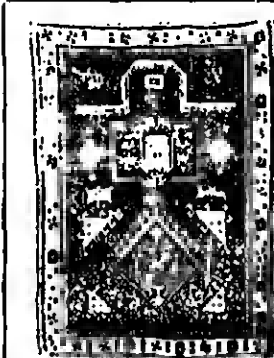
But Moscow relented just before Thanksgiving, thus clearing the decks of one issue that could have proved a major irritant.

Mr. Toon arrived bare-headed in Moscow's winter cold, prepared to forget the press reports if the Soviets would, stressing the continuity of U.S. policy, and looking to establish "much closer relations than we have had before."

Just before he arrived, the Communist Party newspaper Pravda took reasonably calm note of Mr. Carter's foreign-policy Cabinet choices. It said Secretary of State-Designate Cyrus Vance and National Security Adviser-Designate Zbigniew Brzezinski did once pay tribute to the cold war but had partially reconsidered their views in the spirit of realism.

Pravda added the hope that the team would show a well-pondered and realistic approach. Previously, Soviet media have indicated Mr. Vance is a man with whom Moscow can deal — and have moderated the once-hostile public attitude to Dr. Brzezinski.

Mr. Brezhnev told Mr. Smith that Moscow threatened no one. It wanted 1977 to become a turning point in ending the arms race.

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South Africa

'Women for peace': open to all races

By June Goodwin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Johannesburg

Like the peace women of Northern Ireland, a group of concerned South African women — white and black — have launched a peace movement in this country. Their goal: to defuse tensions and thus avoid the possible disruption of their society of black-white conflict.

So far about 2,000 have joined Women for Peace (WFP) or Vroue vir Vrede in Afrikaans, the language of the whites of Dutch descent.

Women for Peace was formed last Sept. 4 after more than 400 blacks were killed in riots across the country. Its emergence on the scene is one of the most prominent signs in a general awakening among women which has caused even the right-wing news magazine *The Point* to recognize the possibilities of women in changing thinking in South Africa. An upcoming issue of the magazine will have a cover story on women's roles.

A cross section of middle-class women — Afrikaners, English-speakers, and blacks — have shown a desire to do something to reduce tensions.

There are pitfalls in the way of Women for Peace: a lack of understanding of black thinking and sensitivities; a lack of organizing experience, a factor common to South African women in general; and the difficulty of fostering change without being involved in politics. (This last point is an obstacle also confronting the peace movement in Northern Ireland.)

But if the pitfalls are recognized and avoided, Women for Peace could help save South Africa from more violence.

"It is an exciting time," says Cecile Cilliers of the WFP executive committee. "If only we can break out of our shell of negativism."

Mrs. Cilliers, an Afrikaner, says that the Afrikaner woman is wary of politics and has left that to the men in the past.

She is searching for projects to keep mem-

bers busy. She plans to steer them into some already existing community projects of the South African Institute of Race Relations. (The Northern Irish peace movement also is seeking to promote reconciliation through community projects.)

Another plan is to campaign for providing electricity to Soweto, the black township near Johannesburg where riots began last year.

"A sales tax on clothes and other appliances alone would pay for the electrification of Soweto in three years," Mrs. Cilliers says.

One politically experienced white woman says that black women's organizations are better organized than WFP because they are more formally conducted.

About 25 percent of the women in WFP are black, but many of these blacks are thinking of staying away from the next meeting on Jan. 28 because they think the whites did not listen to them at earlier meetings or really understand what blacks have been through this past year

with so many people, even children, killed and detained.

"If Women for Peace will take themselves seriously, forget the right wing, and appeal to the middle ground, they could be extremely effective," says one well-informed member.

There is a hymn in the Xhosa language called "Nkose Sikele Afrika" (God Bless Africa) which was recited at the December prayer-meeting of Women for Peace. But it was a sign of insensitivity that the hymn was only recited in English by a white woman, said one member. She added, "Nkose Sikele Afrika" could be an anthem for South Africa which all races could sing.

But sensitivity can be cultivated and this is one of the reasons why Women for Peace came into being.

Mrs. Cilliers says: "There is an enormous amount of goodwill in the country that the Government doesn't realize."

This goodwill is what Women for Peace is trying to tap.

Changes could be in the children's hands

By June Goodwin
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor

Johannesburg

Attendance of school Jan. 5 in the black townships of South Africa is critical to the entire country's future.

If the students stay out of school, one well-informed white source in close touch with the teachers and headmasters of Soweto talks of the possibility within six months of South Africa's becoming the scene of guerrilla terrorism and industrial sabotage.

Students have asked for what many whites believe are rational and much-needed changes in Bantu Education, as the black African education system is called.

In response the white National Party government has made some concessions. But the concessions have come piece by piece and clumsily, says F. E. Auerbach, head of the Transvaal Teachers Association, who has been involved for years in teaching blacks.

Over several months, the government has agreed to provide free textbooks to most grades (but not till 1978), to increase the budget in 1979, to provide more teachers and smaller classes, to increase and improve training for teachers, to allow school boards to be elected by the parents, and to move toward compulsory education by having parents sign a statement agreeing to keep their child in school in the lower classes.

More changes are in the pipeline, according to informed sources. These include building new schools, using white teachers, and perhaps transferring Bantu Education to the national education department.

However, education for black Africans would still be administered separately, as are English and Afrikaans education.

A change of name from Bantu is being considered — black education being one alternative.

By calling it black, instead of Afrikan, education the government could be attempting to defuse the effects of the "black consciousness" concept which has spread dramatically in the past year, with Asians, Coloureds (mixed race), and Africans all calling themselves black.

Considering its past record, the government's concessions so far have been considerable, but some whites suggest the effort may be too late and in the wrong direction.

"They don't have the courage to face their right wing," said Mr. Auerbach. "If they said it's a new era and then listed the changes, then it might work."

"There is too much emphasis on facts," said one well-informed white source. "This is an emotional issue and must be dealt with carefully. This year the blacks have got their martyrology for the next century (because of the number killed in the riots)."

"Even if the students want to go back to school (and many reportedly do), the issue may now be out of their hands." The Student Representative Council (SRC), which began and ran the protests for so long, is reportedly being eclipsed. There is some evidence, backed by statements from black adults, that the events now are being directed by adults who want change fast. Some sources say that teachers and other community leaders are involved.

The government is convinced that revolutionary plans are being directed from outside South Africa. But this would be extremely difficult, although there is movement by blacks in and out of the country.



Schoolchildren in Soweto: for them, a critical year ahead

By Sven Siro

The education flashpoint has developed because 65 percent of South Africa's population are illiterate. This figure may not seem high compared with Angola where the illiteracy rate is 98 percent.

But the discrepancy between black and white in South Africa is the dynamite. African figures for school dropouts are indicative: 51.8 percent of 18-year-old Africans have had less than four years of schooling compared with only 0.9 percent of 18-year-old whites, according to 1974 figures from UNESCO (the United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization).

Black students are convinced that Bantu Education is designed to keep them down. About 4 million Africans are in schools, but the problem is the quality of education. Of the 62,879 teachers for Africans, only 6,546 have the same qualifications as teachers on the same level in white schools. And 8,701 of the teachers have no professional educational qualifications at all.

Only 6,500 African students manage to finish the last year of high school.

One way partly to defuse the situation would be to allow blacks into private white schools. The authorities in schools run by the Anglican and Roman Catholic churches have said they would be willing to do this — but currently it is against the law.

The root of the problem, however, is that Bantu Education is tied to politics in South Africa.

Although there are plenty of enlightened educators, the ministers on top have the final say. And M. C. Botha, Minister of Bantu Education, is one of the most hard-line of National Party politicians.

Some observers in Johannesburg are concerned about a

commentary repeated several times in the past months which says that of 5 million Africans living in urban areas only 1 million are "essential."

These observers wonder if the government is making preparations in case it decides to move the "unessential" Africans to the homelands or tribal areas.

January will be a more than usually critical time for South Africa's urban areas.

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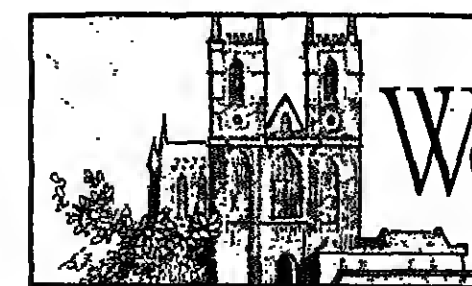
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United States

Congress to Carter:

'We won't be your rubber stamp'

By Godfrey Sperling Jr.
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
Democratic leadership in Congress is sending out a muted but clear signal to President-Elect Carter, which says clearly:

"We're going to cooperate — but we will be no rubber stamp for your programs."

Underlining this congressional assertion of its "coequal" status with the presidency, House majority leader James C. Wright is dis-

missing that the House Democrats are initiating legislation to pump some \$2 billion to \$4 billion into the existing jobs program.

Congressman Wright, in unveiling this plan before a group of reporters over breakfast, said he had discussed this matter with Mr. Carter and that the President-Elect had given his support to it.

But some observers here stress the fact that this is coming as a congressional, not a presidential initiative, and that while cooperation is still the ruling mood, there might have been a different scenario had Congress wanted it. That is, congressional leaders could have waited for Mr. Carter to announce his plans for stimulating the economy, in which he would indicate whether he wanted an expanded or new jobs program and how much he wanted to spend for it, before initiating a legislative program.

Thus, the signal being received here is that Congress is making certain that it at least participates in the Carter legislative initiatives and is telling Mr. Carter that at no point should he begin to take the Democratic leadership for granted or try to give it the appearance of playing a subservient role.

At the breakfast, too, Mr. Wright expressed what appears to be a widespread view among his Democratic colleagues: that a tax cut may not be the correct answer to stimulating the economy.

Mr. Wright said that such a tax trim would not help much if Arthur Burns and the Federal Reserve System should cool the economy by raising interest rates.

He charged Dr. Burns with countering what might have been a good stimulative effect from the \$20 billion tax reduction that President Ford put through. He indicated he thinks there is no assurance that Dr. Burns might not do the same with a new slice in taxes.

But resistance to a tax reduction among many in Congress stems from another reason. It does not like the prospect that there might well be less government funds for social welfare programs, some already in effect and others in prospect, if such a tax reduction would go into effect.

Thus it is that while no elements of a fight between Democrats in Congress and Mr. Carter can be read into this new Democratic-initiated jobs bill, it could very well be that this new assertion of congressional authority will enter into Mr. Carter's thinking as he shapes his final package for stimulating the economy.

That is, while Mr. Carter has been indicating all along that there would be a jobs bill, he might well have to take into account (at least a little) this pro-jobs program and anti-tax-cut attitude of Congress when he decides on what his final "mix" for aiding the economy will be.

But again, observers here don't see all this as even the beginnings of a congressional uprising against Carter authority.

At several instances in the breakfast Mr. Wright talked of his close and warm relations with Mr. Carter, and he said that he now has Mr. Carter's personal phone number in Plains, which he uses on occasion.

But the message from Mr. Wright was this: that friendship and cooperation have their limits and Mr. Carter should bear this in mind in his dealings with Congress.

The battle American Indians are winning

By Robert M. Press
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Chicago
Long after their ancestors lost most of their military battles and land to whites, American Indians are winning most of their legal "battles" to regain land and rights of self-government.

But, as the list of victories grows, so does opposition — and some say a "backlash" may have developed. For instance, a case to be heard soon before the U.S. Supreme Court could result in a precedent-setting decision leading to a reduction in size of some Indian reservations.

In 1976 alone, various Indian tribes won:

- A \$6.6 million federal settlement of a 17-million-acre land claim in Illinois, Kansas, Missouri, and Iowa.
- Agreement from voters in Gay Head on Martha's Vineyard, off the coast of Massachusetts, to give back a large tract of land.
- Title to a symbolically important one-quarter acre of land near Bridgeport, Connecticut.
- A federal court ruling bringing them closer to recognition of claims of nearly two-thirds of the state of Maine.

In addition, the Michigan Supreme Court two weeks ago upheld a Chippewa Indian tribe's right to fish in Lake Superior free from most

state restrictions. Earlier this year, the Chippewas of Minnesota won a U.S. Supreme Court case that leads to exemption of reservation Indians from local and state taxes.

On Jan. 12, before the U.S. Supreme Court, South Dakota will argue that about three-fourths of the Sioux Indians' Rosebud Reservation is no longer a reservation because a series of congressional acts in the early part of this century opened the land to homesteading by non-Indians. The Justice Department will argue that the original boundaries are valid.

An underlying issue is whether the Indian police and courts offer equal protection and justice to non-Indians living on the reservation. The case is viewed by both sides as a landmark case.

This is the latest example that "a backlash is building" to Indian claims, says Tom Fredericks, director of the Native American Rights Fund (NARF) in Boulder, Colorado, a public-interest law firm which has been winning many of the key Indian cases over the past few years.

There are other signs of a "backlash." Earlier this year, non-Indians from 11 states formed the Interstate Congress for Equal Rights and Responsibilities, primarily to oppose Indian control over non-Indian residents on reservations. The group is planning legal action to challenge such control, says Tom To-

bin, an attorney in Winner, South Dakota.

There is continued opposition in the form of fights, threats, and court challenges by fishermen to the state of Washington in a 1974 federal-court ruling granting Indians expanded fishing rights in the state.

Indian land claims in Maine and on Cape Cod in Massachusetts have caused considerable economic uncertainty there.

In the Maine case, a federal judge has ruled that a 1791 act of Congress prohibiting transfer of Indian lands without congressional approval applies in the case. Such approval was never given. In another federal-court case this past year, Indians in Nebraska successfully challenged plans by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers to flood part of their reservation as part of a flood-control project.

Meanwhile, the number of legal cases being brought on behalf of Indians is growing at an "unprecedented" rate, says NARF attorney David Getches. "We have very few of them," he adds, saying there is careful preparation and selection of cases that will have major impact.

But Mr. Fredericks points out that a win in one court usually does not affect Indian law in another court's jurisdiction. In most cases, Indian wins are appealed. Important tests of Indian water and mineral rights — especially coal — lie ahead, he says.



Boys with new Christmas bikes aren't about to wait for a spring thaw before taking a spin

How a white suburb ushered in blacks

By Richard J. Cattan
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Oak Park, Illinois
When Oak Park residents saw the Chicago skyline bright with flames from urban riots during the 1960s, they could have panicked. Urban experts predicted their white, suburban community would be almost one-quarter black by 1980.

But instead of bucking under to prophecies of doom and decay, as many other municipalities bordering urban centers have in recent years, Oak Park decided to face the integration issue head-on and constructively.

"It decided to thrive on the challenge, not shrink from it," says city manager Jack Gruber.

How well Oak Park, a community of stately homes and apartments, has done is reflected in recent praise from two organizations involved in Chicago area desegregation: the Northwestern Illinois Planning Commission (NIPC), which oversees compliance with federal grant rules in the 287 communities around Chicago, and from the Chicago Urban League.

"It is a staggering, overwhelming problem to provide open housing for all minority individuals in the Chicago region," says Margaret Sachs, writer of an NIPC study on Oak Park integration efforts, which involved a dispersal

of blacks among all neighborhoods in the community and encouraged whites to move into black "border" housing. "But across the country," Miss Sachs says, "municipalities bordering inner-city areas face similar fears of creeping, block-by-block desegregation as neighborhoods change."

"There's no doubt — it's been confirmed by many people, except the late Mayor [Richard J.] Daley — that Chicago is the most segregated city in the country," says William Campbell, spokesman for the Chicago Urban League. "Oak Park has taken very careful, very positive, and substantial steps toward dealing with the issue. They have a model program."

Among Oak Park's steps to deal with racial change:

- The community early adopted a tough fair-housing law. Under the 1968 ordinance, discrimination in real estate dealings was forbidden, rentals had to be reported, race of the renter had to be included. For-sale signs were banned. Real Estate firms were called on the carpet, or sued, if they were not in line with efforts to integrate the community.
- A comprehensive plan for Oak Park's development was adopted in 1972, focusing attention on issues like the decline of shopping centers and commercial strips, as well as integration.
- Oak Park lending institutions were encouraged to keep the flow of funds open for mortgages and remodeling. Some \$1.5 million in

low-interest loans has been made available for major apartment upgrading to show that older apartment stock as well as housing could be recycled and made profitable.

• Citizens were brought into the political process via neighborhood and block associations, and into major planning decisions.

• Including inspections in residential areas as apartment neighborhoods were developed. Inspection of apartment buildings was made a condition of sales, to encourage a class of investors willing to make long-term commitments to the city.

In all, Oak Park has adopted more than 50 programs, with still others on the way, to ensure that property values would hold up despite the predicted influx of minority Chicagoans.

"We are managing our change," says the city manager. "We're not fighting it." Property values throughout the four-square-mile community, including the section bordering Chicago, have climbed steadily. Apartment vacancies are running at less than 1 percent. Demand for Oak Park housing is so strong that many units are sold within minutes of going on the market — or by bidding wars among Chicagoans who favor an older neighborhood handy to the downtown, yet remote enough to have tree-lined, quiet streets. The appeal of integrated community seems to be making Oak Park more attractive to many new residents in the Chicago area.

An exhilarating time to be a congressman

Reforms, public hearings, and Ford surprises expected

By Richard L. Strout
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor
Washington

A Democratic Congress has come to town. On its cooperation with President Jimmy Carter will largely depend the mood of the next two years.

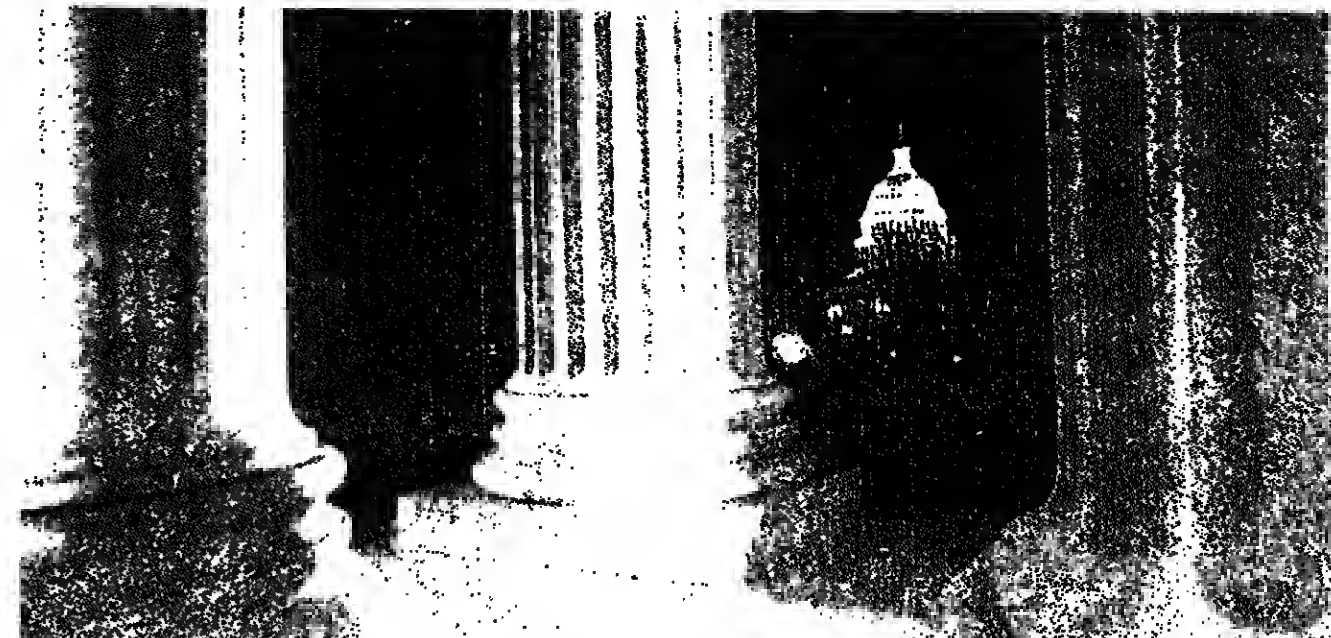
It is the first time since 1969 that the same party controls Congress and the White House.

The 95th Congress will begin by trying to expunge a few bad vetoes. At the same time, Mr. Ford, one of the best liked, though defeated, presidents to leave the executive office, will have a few words of his own to say.

President-Elect Carter is drafting his inaugural address at Plains, Georgia. Mr. Ford is preparing his side of the case in his budget message, a vehicle which he is believed to have chosen to show how he would have handled things and how he would balance the budget in the next two years.

With an accumulation of big issues to debate (and perhaps even to settle), the return of Congress brings back excitement to this expectant town. Here are some items:

- Back of everything else is what to do to stimulate the economy. Congress will wait on this to get Mr. Carter's views in his Jan. 20 inaugural address.
- Lane-duck Mr. Ford is expected to lob a few final grenades into Congress. But of nowhere he suddenly urged Statehood for Puerto Rico. He now may ask Congress to remove price controls from gasoline. This should cause a commotion.
- Another expected Ford proposal is to raise federal salaries — including Congress. This is emotion-charged because a strict ethics code will probably be attached. Do congressmen want to make annual disclosure of personal finances?
- Congress would like to override retroactively a couple of earlier Ford vetoes by passing new legislation to go to a sympathetic president: a new measure to regulate strip mining;



U.S. Capitol from interior of Supreme Court Building

The 95th Congress opens in a new, assertive mood

also another try at creation of an independent agency to represent consumers before regulatory agencies.

• Congress has big internal-reform plans of its own: The Senate is trying to make the first committee reorganization in 30 years; to winnow a proliferation of 31 standing committees and special committees and subcommittees down to 15; there will be two weeks of hearings on this before the Rules Committee, during which the 18 freshmen senators will not be assigned anywhere.

• There may be a couple of public hearings right at the start that could be sensational: an investigation of possible payoffs to members of Congress from South Korea, and a new look at the assassinations of President John F. Kennedy and the Rev. Martin Luther King.

As important as any specific details, as Congress assembles, is the mood. The mood of Congress seems to be summed up in one word, "assertive." The mood of the new President (if the Electoral College picks him) is cooperative, but even today Mr. Carter's views and programs seem busy to some congressmen. There is a feeling that he has moved toward the center since the election.

Once Congress organizes, closer consultation between Washington and Plains, Georgia, is expected.

Democratic control of Congress is overwhelming, 62-38 in the Senate; 292-143 in the House.

More than that, the old Republican-Southern coalition that used to be a major force in the interest of conservatives may have disappeared; Mr. Carter is himself from the South, and political forecasting takes a new shape.

Executive domination built in a 50-year climax in the Nixon administration with the Vietnam war and Watergate; now comes the test of whether Congress can really assert itself again.

This will depend considerably on the brand-new 95th Congress Democratic leadership. In the House there is a new speaker, Thomas P. O'Neill Jr. (Massachusetts), and majority leader, Jim Wright of Texas. The Senate will have a new majority leader, too, probably Robert C. Byrd of West Virginia, or possibly Hubert H. Humphrey of Minnesota.

Republicans presumably will be led by Robert P. Griffin of Michigan in the Senate and John A. Rhodes of Arizona in the House.

Arms aid to repressive governments to continue

By Lance Curden
Staff writer of The Christian Science Monitor

Despite mounting concern over U.S. arms aid to regimes that abuse human rights, key congressmen and human rights experts say U.S. military support of some repressive governments is not likely to end soon.

But new U.S. pressures are likely to persuade foreign lenders to curtail some of their more flagrant violations of human rights.

Congressman Donald M. Fraser (D) of Minnesota, who has led the effort to include consideration of human-rights violations in military aid decisionmaking, makes a distinction between countries in Latin America, for example, where the United States has "no major national security interests" and U.S. allies in Europe, the Middle East, and areas close to Japan.

"The United States should 'disengage' where we have no major security interests," he says. He points to the level of U.S. aid to Uruguay, Chile, and Argentina as a barometer of the priority the new Carter administration will actually give to the human-rights issue.

South Korea would be a "harder case," he says, because of the communist regime that threatens its northern border. "South Korea will be a major area of debate" for the Carter administration, he predicts. Congress recently set specific limits on aid to Chile and Uruguay because of human-rights violations, such as torture and imprisonment of political opponents. Congressman Fraser says he is doubtful that the new Congress will take further action of this type, since it will want to feel out and cooperate with the Carter administration, rather than take early unilateral action.

Governor Carter brought the human-rights issue into his presidential campaign, charging that the Ford administration — and particularly Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger — had given little consideration to the repressive policies of regimes receiving U.S. assistance.

If the Ford-Kissinger team was still in the White House, "I would be looking to more country-by-country restrictions," he said.

Congressman Michael Harrington (D) of Massachusetts says congressional action aimed at limiting military assistance to countries violating basic human rights already has had a direct effect on repressive regimes in South America.

He predicts a "change of direction" in U.S. aid policy toward repressive regimes, but questioned whether the change would come as quickly as many observers believe. He also says Congress is not likely to take any bold, new action on human rights over the coming months "in deference to the new administration."

But it is necessary that the United States take "the risks of its conviction" and stop aiding governments that abuse the rights of their fellow countrymen, says Mr. Harrington. Even "rhetoric" from the White House on the human-rights subject would have an effect in the short run, he adds.

Over the New Year's weekend, the U.S. State Department's first detailed report to Congress on the human-rights record of governments receiving American military support was released by the House International Relations Committee, chaired by Representative Fraser. The committee had asked for the reports on Argentina, Haiti, Indonesia, Iran, Peru, and the Philippines. In part to test State Department response to new legislation requiring such reports on request of Congress.

"They were better than I thought they would be," says Congressman Fraser, "but they understated" the situation in some countries — "particularly Iran."

Wanted: a U.S. energy plan to benefit Europe and Japan

By Harry B. Ellis
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Europe and Japan look to President-Elect Jimmy Carter for a coherent, long-term energy policy that will begin to lessen the industrial world's reliance on imported oil, says a top European energy official.

Among elements of that policy, according to Ulf Lantzké, executive director of the 19-nation International Energy Agency (IEA), "is most importantly the creation of an investment climate in the U.S." to stimulate production of American coal, oil, and natural gas.

Dr. Lantzké means the domestic price of American fuels should be allowed to rise instead of being artificially controlled below world levels.

Europe and Japan, said Dr. Lantzké in a

transatlantic broadcast for the Voice of America, "have had in pay the world price for oil" ever since the 13-nation oil exporting cartel jacked up the cost 400 percent.

The United States, by contrast, controls the price of its domestic oil and natural gas, giving American consumers a break denied to Europeans and Japanese.

One result, all experts agree, is profligate waste of energy by Americans. Sweden, says Dr. Lantzké, with a living standard as high as that in the United States, uses only 70 percent as much energy per person and "this difference cannot be explained simply by the fact that distances are longer in the United States."

Thus, says Dr. Lantzké, a West German, America's industrial partners want the Carter administration "to take a much closer look at energy conservation."

Why this emphasis on what Americans

should do? Because, said Dr. Lantzké, the United States, as the world's largest consumer of oil, "can contribute 50 percent of what must be done" in lessening demand for oil from the member-nations of the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC).

The Federal Energy Administration (FEA), meanwhile, reports that Americans, in the four weeks ending Dec. 10, burned on average 1.8 million barrels of oil per day — up 0.8 percent from the same period last year, 4.2 percent above the 1974 level, and 7.2 percent above the level of 1973.

This, said an FEA official, "is close to a record." In February, 1973, in the heady days when oil cost a quarter as much as it does today, Americans consumed 19.1 million barrels daily.

"Energy consumption comparisons between countries," says John Lichtblau, executive di-

rector of the Petroleum Industry Research Foundation, Inc., "are superficial. Millions of Americans live in suburbs and travel [by car] into work. Our present capital stock [of factories and equipment] needs to be serviced."

"And," he adds, "our whole Sunbelt development [in the Southern United States] is based on air-conditioning. People wouldn't live in Houston if their homes, offices, stores, and cars were not air-conditioned."

"The only meaningful measure of comparison," concludes Mr. Lichtblau, "is what we ourselves are consuming in relation to previous years."

Either measurement — the U.S.-European comparison or what Americans alone consume year by year — shows U.S. energy consumption on a steadily upward trend, with more and more of that energy coming from OPEC oil wells.

Asia

Fraying U.S.-Korea ties worry Japan

By Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Tokyo
The deteriorating political relations between the United States and South Korea are beginning to alarm other countries — notably Japan. The Japanese — close friends of the U.S. and next-door neighbors of the Koreans — fear that under the Carter administration this deterioration could also affect military ties. So they have taken this view of the situation:

They reluctantly would agree to a withdrawal of American troops from South Korea, but they hope that withdrawal will be delayed as long as possible.

Behind this reluctance is an unspoken, but strong, feeling that the American military presence helps as much to deter South Korean military actions against the North as it does to deter any North Korean invasion of the South.

These points emerge from a series of recent interviews with Japanese defense experts and opinion leaders.

Officially the Japanese view is expressed more delicately than bluntly. Deputy Defense Minister Ko Maruyama said that Japan opposes an immediate American withdrawal from Korea because North Korea's military strength is still superior to that of South Korea.

"But we don't oppose [American] withdrawal forever," he said.

The basic precondition, according to Mr. Maruyama, would be some agreement among the U.S., the Soviet Union, China, Japan, and the two Koreas on a mechanism to replace the existing armistice agreement between United Nations forces on the one hand and North Korean-Chinese forces on the other.

In any case, however, Mr. Maruyama thought Japan would not be prepared to step up its own defense effort to help fill the gap

that would be caused by an American military withdrawal from Korea.

"There is no direct relationship between Japan's defense effort and American withdrawal from South Korea," he said.

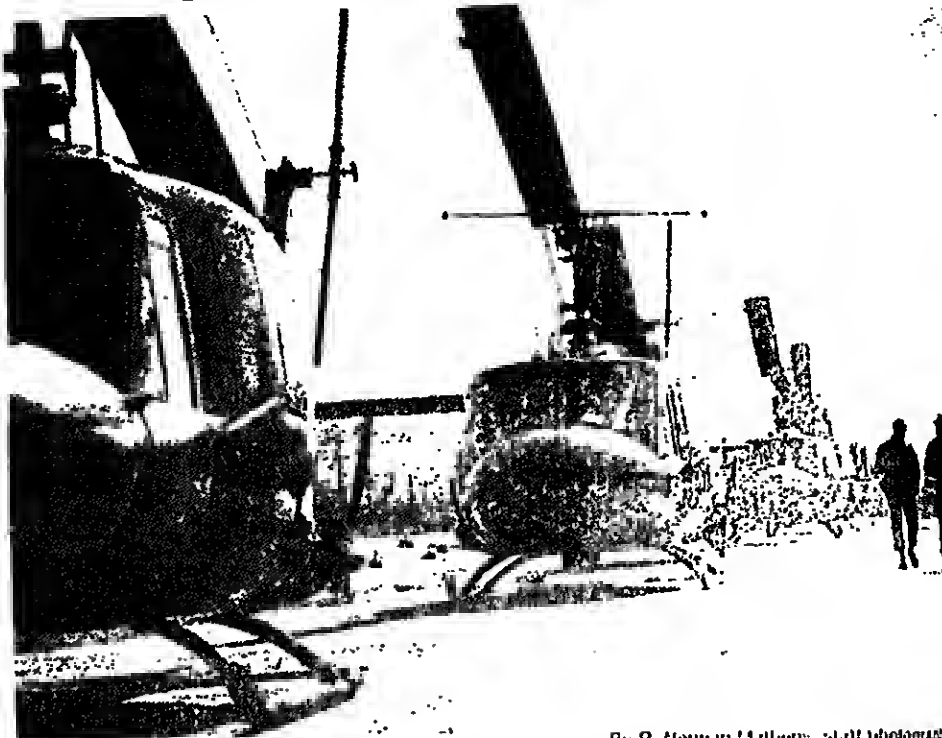
Until recently Japan's remarkable economic growth has meant that its defense budget also has grown continuously, until today it stands at \$5 billion a year, about half the amount spent by Britain or France, and far more than any other Asian defense budget with the exception of that of China (estimated at \$17 billion two years ago).

But as recession eats into Japan's economic growth, defense officials face the prospect that they cannot expect any substantial further increase in their budget.

This means that the security treaty with the U.S. has become even more important than before in covering Japan's own defense inadequacies. Even the major opposition party, the Socialists, who have consistently opposed the treaty, now speak of its "gradual" rather than immediate dissolution.

It is in this context that the ill feeling between Washington and Seoul, engendered by disclosures of South Korean efforts to bribe American legislators, is viewed with such concern here. The Japanese do not fear that incoming President Carter is misreading in any way the strictly military aspects of the security situation in Northeast Asia. They know he intends no precipitate withdrawal of American troops from South Korea.

But they are uneasy over a possible spill-over from the political field into the military. In the political field, Washington's relations with South Korea will be one test of the image that President-Elect Carter would like to project — that the U.S. does not old repressive and dictatorial regimes just because they happen to be anticommunist.



By R. Norman Maloney, staff photographer

U.S. military presence in South Korea — Japan likes it there

Could political relations deteriorate to such a point that the United States will have no choice but to withdraw its troops? Would not such a withdrawal have a highly destabilizing effect not only on North Korean attitudes toward the South but also toward South Korean nations vis-à-vis the North?

The Japanese worry about these possibilities, but remain essentially bystanders. They are not prepared to increase their own defense effort partly for political reasons, but also partly because they do not see how such

an increase would ever fill the gap left by a substantial American military withdrawal from Korea — unless this increase was so massive that Japan would in effect be competing militarily with China and the Soviet Union.

"Doubling our defense budget," said one Japanese defense expert, "would cause tremendous political uproar here and might have a destabilizing effect on China and the Soviet Union, while at the same time only marginally improving our own capacity to meet external threats."

Japanese Communists want U.S. defense treaty out

By Takashi Oka
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Tokyo
"Our historic task is to get rid of the security treaty between the United States and Japan."

With these words, Toshio Sakaki confirms that the Japan Communist Party's opposition to the security relationship with the United States has not changed despite the recent parliamentary election here. The Communists, although increasing their overall popular vote, lost 26 seats and now hold only 18 seats in the 511-seat lower house.

Mr. Sakaki, a member of the party presidium and head of its theoretical commission, refuses to accept the fashionable argument that the security treaty suits the convenience both of China and of the Soviet Union because

it restrains the revival of Japanese militarism while projecting American military power to keep the balance of power in East Asia.

Sakaki's assessment

Mr. Sakaki says that if China, because of its quarrel with the Soviet Union, sought a better relationship with the United States — on the assumption that "the enemy of my enemy is my friend" — that was China's affair. Or if the Soviet Union considered the U.S.-Japan security treaty helpful in view of its strained relations with China, that was the Soviet Union's affair.

"We think of the security treaty from the Japanese viewpoint," he says. "And from that viewpoint, the treaty is a means of helping the United States to keep bases here and to keep Japanese forces subordinate to the United States Asian policy."

"This is why we consider it our historic task

to get rid of the security treaty. Once we have done so, we certainly will not get involved in an alliance with China, nor with the Soviet Union. We are an island nation, and we consider neutrality and nonalignment to be the best posture for us."

Nationalism voted

Mr. Sakaki's remarks explain why the Communists are considered, in one sense, to be the most nationalistic of Japan's political parties. Whereas the Socialists, the major opposition party, still advocate an idealistic unmitigated neutrality for Japan, the Communists stand for "peace, neutrality, independence, and self-defense," Mr. Sakaki says.

In terms of domestic politics, Mr. Sakaki says the Communists stand for political pluralism, as do their fellow parties in Western Europe.

"We believe in pluralism, in rotation of office. Should we try to bring to power, no matter what, we would be denying the sovereignty of the people. The Soviet Union and China have had no experience of parliamentary democracy. To consider their system a model for Japan is completely inappropriate," he says.

Mr. Sakaki says his party's defeat in lower house elections Dec. 5 was because of an unprecedented and coordinated campaign of education and harassment by the conservative parties. He also conceded that party workers lured by their spectacular advance in the last provincial election (1972) may have not voted hard enough to get out the vote. In at least 10 of Japan's 430 multi-seat constituencies, the Communists came within a few thousand votes of being elected.

The Communists do not take kindly to defeat, and they will make every effort to swing their lower-house setback to upper-house elections next July. These elections, in turn, will provide the best indication as to whether the party's popular vote has peaked at about 10 percent level, or whether its professional nature of uncompromising nationalism and democratic pluralism at home will keep it on an upward curve.



Communist Party Chairman Miyamoto

Not about to surrender historic task

Why China keeps fanning old flames

By Ross H. Munro
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor
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Peking
Chinese outbursts are reviving stories of violence that largely occurred many months ago to justify further stringency measures against radicals and radical sympathizers, some foreign analysts in Peking think.

During the past few weeks, a number of provincial radio stations have referred to serious violent incidents in their respective provinces but the stations have largely avoided saying when the incidents occurred.

The lack of a time frame combined with the lurid language used in the radio broadcasts — "heating, smashing and looting" being a favorite phrase — has led to foreign news reports that allow readers to conclude that an upsurge of violence is under way right now in some provinces.

This is almost certainly incorrect. It is well known that there was a rapid increase in political as well as criminal violence in China dur-

ing the spring, summer, and early fall of 1976 due to political factionalism and the erosion of authority.

But a month after the passing of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, when Mr. Mao and other leading radicals were arrested, public order was firmly re-established in most places and where it was not, the Army soon stepped in directly to impose discipline. Only in the often-troubled provinces of Fukien and Yunnan have there been firm indications of political violence since mid-November.

In an informal conversation with foreign correspondents Jan. 2, a Chinese official helped put the reports of violence into better context. He said that while there are "some lingering problems" as far as political unrest is concerned, he was certain that most of the violence being referred to by the radio stations occurred before the purge of the radical "gang of four." In October and in some cases may have occurred a year or more ago.

Some of the recent broadcasts that have commanded so much attention may have been referring to even older incidents. Chengtu Ra-

di reported Dec. 23 that "all-round civil war" had raged in the Province of Szechwan, but some analysts think this referred to the violence of the Cultural Revolution of the 1960s.

All the references to violence by the radio stations during the past few weeks have blamed it on the followers of the "gang of four." And this fixing of the blame, analysts here suspect, is the key to understanding why the Chinese provincial radio stations recently have been so eager to report genuine but dated incidents of violence.

By blaming the radicals for last year's violence, Chinese provincial leaders are establishing an atmosphere in which it will be easier to justify harsh treatment of radicals and radical sympathizers in the coming year.

About two weeks ago, it became clear that the hard-liners, those Chinese leaders calling for a tougher and more sweeping purge of radical sympathizers, had won their argument. And it was at the same time that the provincial radio stations began reminding their listeners of the violent incidents that had occurred and who was allegedly to blame.

Uranium hunt strains international cooperation

By David F. Salisbury
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Medardo Base, Antarctica
Edward Zeller and Gisella Dreschhoff are prospecting for uranium in the Antarctic.

Since it is generally agreed that the issue of resource development will eventually put the Antarctic example of international cooperation to its severest test yet, the project is a controversial one here "on the ice."

Since 1961, Antarctica has been a continent set aside solely for international scientific research. But burgeoning interest in the resources guarded by frigid weather and the forbidding cover of snow and ice here has begun to strain the fabric of what so far has been a model of cooperation among many nations.

Tucked in among the mountains of the Royal Society Range are a series of mysterious snow-free valleys. The exposed cliffs are sandstone almost identical to those in the western United States where uranium is found.

During the brief Antarctic summer, which now is at its height, scientists Zeller and Dreschhoff — with a pair of West German colleagues — are making daily helicopter flights into some of the snow-free valleys that provide some of the continent's most spectacular scenery.

According to Dr. Zeller, these helicopter rides are hair-raising. The radioactively detector which they carry must be kept within a few hundred feet of the sheer cliffs.

Besides uranium, the experts working here say the continent almost certainly contains a number of valuable resources. In most cases, the difficulties involved in locating and exploiting this wealth are immense, but few doubt that within the next few decades this will become increasingly practical.

In fact, a large Polish fleet is currently studying techniques for harvesting krill, a shrimp-like creature which grows in abundance in the Weddell Sea and could prove to be an inexpensive source of protein.

Soviet geologists claim to have found a mountain of high-grade iron ore.

In 1973, traces of ethane and methane were found by an American research vessel in the floor of the Ross Sea. Such traces are considered indicators of potential natural gas deposits — and sometimes oil deposits. The U.S. Geological Survey has estimated that the Antarctic continental shelf may hold as much as 45



Helicopter view of Antarctica's "Fossil Glacier"

Prospectors as well as scientists are interested in the Antarctic

billion barrels of oil and 115 trillion cubic feet of natural gas. That is about eight times yearly U.S. oil consumption — and six times the nation's annual natural gas consumption.

This year, the National Science Foundation (NSF) is supporting two teams of geologists who are surveying a region called the Dufek Intrusive. This area is similar to one of South Africa's mineral-rich areas, the bushveld, and may contain deposits of chromium and platinum.

"It is only a matter of time before [these resources] are found," says Samuel B. Treves of the University of Nebraska, an old Antarctic hand. He took part in the Antarctic research during the 1957-1958 International Geophysical Year (IGY) which began the current period of scientific cooperation. During IGY, scientists from a dozen nations made a concerted effort to unlock some of the secrets held by the continent's icy wastes.

This was one of the dreams of noted American Antarctic explorer, Rear Admiral Richard

E. Byrd, who said: "I am hopeful that Antarctica in its symbolic role of white will shine forth as a continent of peace, as nations working together there in the cause of science set an example of international cooperation."

With American prompting, following IGY, an Antarctic treaty was agreed upon by most of the nations present on the continent. They pledged not to pursue their territorial claims — as several overlap — to use the continent only for peaceful purposes, to preserve its unique environment and wildlife, and to conduct completely open scientific research. To that end, American bases are administered by the National Science Foundation.

The problem of resource exploitation was a major topic of discussion at the meeting of treaty nations in Oslo last April. They agreed the issue required study and it will be on the agenda of next year's meeting in London. All changes in the treaty must be unanimously agreed upon. However, it must be renegotiated in 1991.

Right now, "this is a very sensitive issue," says Duwayne Anderson, America's chief Antarctic scientist. A number of researchers question the wisdom of resource evaluation. Dr. Anderson himself dwells on the geologic importance of these studies. But Mrs. Zeller and Dreschhoff, at least, say that their primary goal is to find out if uranium is there.

Resource evaluation is one of the United States' declared aims for being in Antarctica, says Dr. Zeller. And Dr. Dreschhoff stresses the fact that other countries, notably the Soviet Union and East Germany, are unabashedly searching for valuable resources.

Both scientists argue that as much must be discovered about the continent's resources as possible before 1991. "You cannot come up with a workable treaty out of ignorance," says Dr. Zeller.

Virtually everyone does agree that the issue of resource development will put the Antarctic example of international cooperation to its severest test yet.

Even the South Pole is touched by pollution

By David F. Salisbury
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

South Pole Station
Since the Industrial Revolution, at the very least, mankind unwittingly has been staining the remote and snowy robes of the Antarctic with invisible grime.

At the South Pole, ice crystals fall shimmeringly out of the clear blue sky. They carry with them microscopic traces of man's distant activities.

Atoms of lead, sulphur, and zinc from far-away smelters; minute quantities of pesticides and manmade poisons; fly ash from power stations churning out electricity; all these and more are carried down to the stark white surface, frozen into the ice, and gradually covered over.

Then as the years pass these tiny traces are carried ever deeper into the perpetual layer of ice, an invisible taxt imprinted on the pages of an icy chronicle that extends 120,000 years into the past. The record is there; it is just a matter of learning to read it correctly, say Antarctic scientists. And it can give "sure indicators" of the nature and extent of pollution attributable to man, says the chief U.S. scientist on the continent, Duwayne Anderson.

"Because of its extremely low temperatures, Antarctica acts as a 'sink' where things introduced into the atmosphere are trapped," he explains.

One of the major debates about pollution standards involves how much of a given pollutant is manmade and how much is natural. By looking at levels of various suspect chemicals in ice cores from both Antarctica and Greenland, scientists argue that in a number of cases this controversy can be resolved. The concentrations of chemicals in ice formed thousands of years ago indicate how much came from purely natural sources, they say.

Michael Herron, a scientist from the State University of New York at Buffalo, has been taking cores from the Ross Ice Shelf — a slab of floating ice the size of Spain — this season. The ice at the bottom of a 150-foot core is about 500 years old, he says.

As one of its major Antarctic projects, engineers from the U.S. Army's Cold Regions Research and Engineering Laboratory in Hanover, New Hampshire, have been trying to obtain an ice core that extends completely through the permanent ice shelf — some 1,200 feet. Problems with the drill have forced them temporarily to abandon the attempt.

In a similar-length core taken from a glacier, in Milcent, central Greenland, a mys-

terious three-fold increase in the amounts of lead, sulphur, and zinc have been found in the uppermost layers. The concentrations of these heavy metals remained constant from 1200 to 1900 — at one-third the levels measured in 1972 and 1973, says Dr. Herron. Because of the nature of the snow layer, it was not possible for scientists to make these measurements for the period 1900 to 1971.

"We don't know where they are coming from," says the scientist. But he thinks that they might have a volcanic origin. He thinks the increased zinc to be of particular importance because little is known about its health or environmental effects.

This group also has found large increases in fly ash in recent years. These are the tiny particles given off when coal is burned in large power stations.

In the longer ice cores, lead concentrations seem to mark the declining years of the Roman Empire, says Mr. Anderson. Increases in lead that are seen around this time could be due to large amounts of silver smelting required for the minting of Roman coins.

Another place where scientists here have found pollutants is in animal life. Robert W. Riseborough, an ecologist of the University of California's Bodega Marine Laboratory, has documented the amounts of pesticides and other synthetic chemicals in Antarctic birds and marine mammals.

In fact, one of the reasons for drilling all the way through the Ross Ice Shelf is to examine the marine life that lives in the water underneath. Scientists think that this must be one of the least polluted places on the planet because of its cap of solid ice.



Striped marker indicates geographic site of South Pole

By R. Norman Maloney, staff photographer

From page 1

*Kissinger's Rhodesia plan evaporating

would require a two-thirds approval of the 88-strong Parliament — where 50 of the seats are held by Mr. Smith's ruling Rhodesian Front (RF).

No wonder, then, that most whites accepted the Sept. 24 proposals. But within days their mood changed as the realization dawned that Mr. Smith was not going to get his way with his interpretation of the terms put forward in September by U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger.

Black nationalist leaders and African "front-line" presidents soon pointed out "serious flaws" in the proposals. By the time the seven-week Geneva conference adjourned in December, with the gap between black and white as wide as ever, complete disillusionment had set in.

Yet despite an escalating guerrilla war and continuing United Nations economic sanctions, there are few signs that whites acknowledge the need for far-reaching reform of the 80-year-old structure of white rule.

The coalition under the RF remains as tight as ever, and Mr. Smith retains overwhelming personal support. No one group — business, farmers, civil servants, artisans — is prepared to break from an alliance which has maintained one of the highest standards of living in the world.

The white moderate opposition is negligible and fragmented. The press keeps to heel, and radio and television are effectively state-controlled. Ivor Richard discovered how strict the control is when neither Rhodesian radio nor television asked to interview him during his Salisbury visit.

Nevertheless, morale among whites is low. Between January and November, 1976, 13,300 emigrated, giving a net migration loss of 3,900 — the first yearly net loss since 1966.

The economy remains in a depression, with 1976 having been a year of no real growth, and



By Gordon N. Converse, chief photographer

Rhodesians of both races at fruit and vegetable auction in Salisbury

there could well be a greater fall in real national product than the 0.7 percent experienced in 1975.

The realliance of white Rhodesia should not, however, be underestimated.

Although fighting now is taking place in four main operational areas and most men have military commitments — barring substantial external involvement in the war — the country can hold out for some time. And certainly economic sanctions in themselves will not bring about white capitulation.

But for the whites weary of the political stalemate there is no light at the end of the tunnel.

It seems likely that if the Geneva talks have in fact failed, Mr. Smith will negotiate with a recently formed African party led by two tribal chiefs. Any agreement he reaches with them is likely to be irrelevant.

All the evidence suggests that the nationalist leaders represent the vast majority of blacks, and none of them will compromise in their demand for an end to white rule.

If on his return visit to Salisbury later this month, Mr. Richard fails to persuade the Rhodesian Premier to accept a British presence, Rhodesian settlement attempts will have failed and the war will continue. The country would then face a grim new year.

From page 1

*The transatlantic friendship

theory gave them the world without a single blow being struck. If it is the latter, then American hawks are playing directly into the hands of the Soviet propagandists. Europeans, listening to the "instant disaster" enthusiasts of Washington hawkdom, must already feel an inclination to head for Moscow to make what terms they can.

The dominant opinion both in Washington and in major alliance capitals is that the Soviets are a long way from any "first strike" capability and have a long way to go to begin to match the overall strength of the United States and its allies.

However, there is no doubt that Soviet inferiority would be turned into effective superiority overnight if the alliance were to fall apart — either from neglect, or from internal differences or from fear. Fear is perhaps the greater single danger.

So what will Mr. Carter do to meet this challenge?

He will have a number of important decisions to make almost immediately. Should the United States go ahead with the expensive B-1 bomber and build another super aircraft carrier? Or should it start building a fleet of fast small ships designed to defend the sea-lanes and put its main reliance for deterrence on "cruise" missiles? The "cruise" missile is an unmanned, long-range, self-directing, jet propelled missile which can carry either conventional or nuclear warheads. It is relatively cheap and might well become the most effective means of deterrence during the next round of weapons.

Confidence of the allies in the ability and will of the United States to support the alliance system will certainly be influenced by the soundness and convincingness of Mr. Carter's moves. To be effective they must express both firmness and prudence in military matters, and a proper awareness of economic factors as well. The alliance could be destroyed by economic folly as quickly as from military weakness.

Economic health is, after all, the foundation under military power. If there is a failure of cooperation among the allies in economic matters — the Kremlin was just as quickly and perhaps more decisively than in any other way.

It is therefore a good first step that the year has already opened with the granting of a loan to the British. This is intended to tide them over until the flow of North Sea oil can reduce their imbalance in trade. Without that loan Britain might have reverted to nativity, which could have been the beginning of the end of the system. The loan was in the right direction.

Australians want A-power ban

By the Associated Press

Sydney, Australia — Two hundred Australian scientists urged the government to ban mining and export of the country's vast uranium deposits. "The mining and export of Australian uranium will substantially increase the risk of nuclear war and the risk of a major catastrophe in nuclear power plants," said Charles Bird, professor of biology at Sydney University and a leader of the group.

The scientists gave their views in a full-page advertisement in the weekly National Times. They sent copies to Prime Minister Malcolm Fraser and the leader of the opposition Labor party, Gough Whitlam.

The statement said the dangers of a plutonium economy and nuclear terrorism and the problems of radioactive waste disposal outweigh the benefits of nuclear power.

It also urged the government to "embark on a comprehensive program of energy conservation and alternative energy development."

Australia contains an estimated 30 percent of the world's uranium reserves, but has only one small uranium mine. The government is to decide whether to allow further development this year after a major environmental study is completed.

For U.S. it looks like anchors aweigh in Bahrain . . .

By John K. Cooley
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Manama, Bahrain
"We are sticking by our decision that it is better to terminate the U.S. Navy facilities here," said Sheikh Muhammad bin Mubarak al-Khalifa, Bahrain's Foreign Minister. "Let's keep the U.S.-Bahrain relationship based on mutual interest — banking, business, culture. Military relationships have a way of leading to misunderstandings."

"If we do move out of the Jufair port installation in 1977," says a senior U.S. Navy officer, "we will lose much more than just the only U.S. naval command ashore between Subic Bay, in the Philippines, and the Mediterranean. Our presence means more than just showing the U.S. flag in the Persian Gulf. It contributes to the stability of a highly volatile area. It would be a hot international signal to our many friends in these countries if we leave now."

These are two of the opposing arguments on

Bahrain's Jufair facilities, which the U.S. Navy has used since 1949. The current lease agreement expires in mid-1977.

The issue will require some careful thinking and early decisions by the new Carter administration in Washington. There are veiled hints from all concerned on this subtropical island that secret talks already are under way to find a solution.

If the Navy's Middle East Force, commanded by Rear Adm. William J. Krowe Jr. and usually including the 16,000-ton command ship La Salle and a brace of destroyers, is to leave by the June, 1977, deadline, it must soon begin dismantling the operation and seeking new options and assignments for ships and personnel.

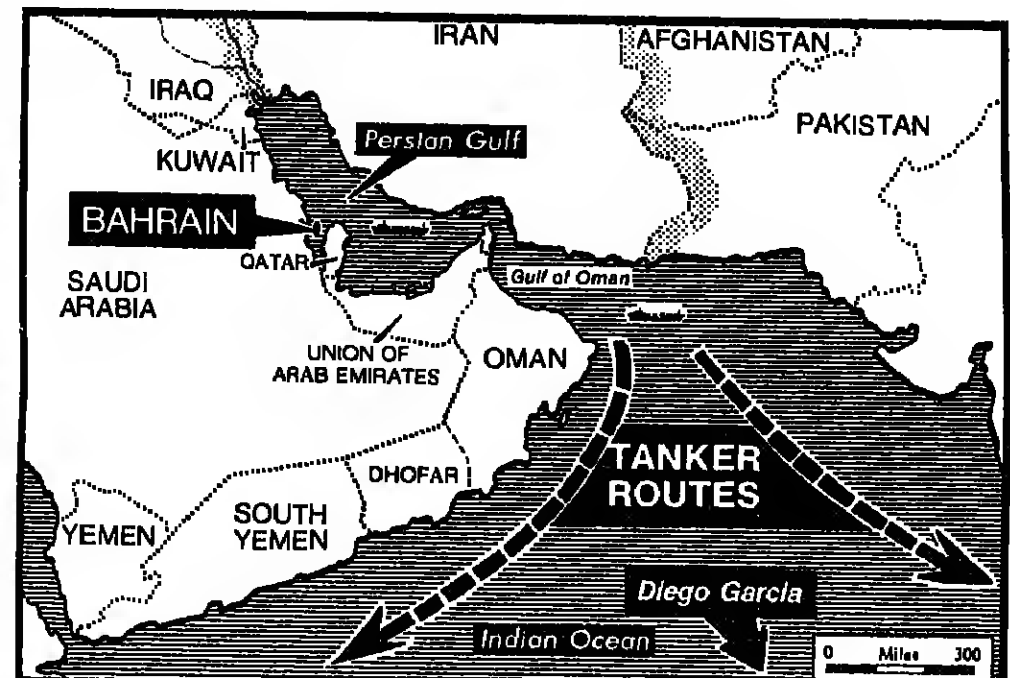
The Navy force's operations cover the Persian Gulf, the Arabian and Red Seas, and the Indian Ocean. Its facilities here now are complemented by the new U.S. naval air and communications installations at Diego Garcia Island, far out in the Indian Ocean. The Soviets have more than counterbalanced the force's existence by activation and use of their naval and air facilities in Somalia, on the East African coast.

A U.S. destroyer based at Bahrain was ordered to Kenya from its Indian Ocean patrol as a deterrent during threats against Kenya by Uganda following last July's Israeli airborne rescue of hijacked airline hostages from Uganda's Entebbe airport. The U.S. force's ships, assisted by the La Salle's telecommunications gear, help to keep track of the growing volume of Soviet and other naval and air activities along the vital tanker lanes reaching out south and east to help toward the Far East and the southern tip of Africa.

A single U.S. Navy C-130 plane, based at Muharram, Bahrain's busy international airport, from which convoys and other large airliners link this island to the world, flies Admiral Krowe on frequent visits to his far-flung "parish," from Djibouti on the Red Sea to Tehran in Iran.

The Jufair issue is not souring U.S.-Bahraini relations, according to both Sheikh Muhammad and the U.S. Ambassador to Bahrain, Watt Chivers. There are some indications that the U.S. side hopes a possible way of keeping the facilities might be to extend to Bahrain the "on the job" training the Middle East Force already is giving the fledgling Saudi Arabian, Kuwaiti, Qatari, and United Arab Emirates navies — if Bahrain, which has no navy now, and which spends little on defense, decides to have one.

For Sheikh Muhammad, however, the issue is settled. "Times have changed," he says. "What we need now is not more military activities, but more links like the new once-weekly, nonstop, 13-hour Bahrain-to-New York ser-



By a staff cartographer

vice," inaugurated by Jan. 8. Air links, excellent telecommunications by satellite, and 35 new offshore banks, four of which are American, are helping Bahrain aspire to be an international financial market like Singapore, which is admired as a model here and with which Bahrain already has close commercial relations.

The U.S. Navy, however, sees it difficult if not impossible to acquire substitute shore installations for the port space here, which together with a few buildings ashore, is rented for about \$4 million annually. The referendum in strategic, French-ruled Djibouti (Territory of the Afars and Issas) this spring, if it ends the French presence there, will probably rule out Djibouti's excellent and strategic harbor for U.S. naval visits. Port visits in Ethiopia now are rare and delicate operations because of the instability of that Red Sea country's military regime.

"We do hope," says Sheikh Muhammad, "that the school at Jufair will stay on." The Bahrain School, as the institution operated by the Navy is called, has about 800 students, including children of U.S. military and oil company families from Bahrain and nearby Doha in Saudi Arabia, as well as British expatriates. Bahrain and other Arab and non-Arab children are also enrolled there from kindergarten through high school. A Jufair School trustees board, consisting of concerned parents and local educators, is weighing how to ease transition to control by the Bahrain Education Ministry if it comes.

Jufair's status has been frequently in doubt

since the old arrangement with the former British forces here was changed to a U.S.-Bahrain agreement in 1971, when Bahrain became fully independent from Britain. Under an exchange of letters, the number of U.S. technicians stationed here was then increased to 280, and offices, warehouses, and recreation facilities were leased. Then Secretary of State William F. Rogers visited Bahrain in July, 1972, declaring that the "facilities are a provocation to no one."

But heavy criticism by Bahrain's Arab neighbors, especially Iran, and Arab nationalist feeling here during the October, 1973 Arab-Israeli war led the ruler, Emir Issa bin Salman al-Khalifa, to declare the facilities canceled "for national reasons related to the battle the Arab world is waging." He did not at that time set a termination date.

In December, 1974, a leftist Bahraini National Assembly deputy called the U.S. naval presence in the gulf a danger, especially in the light of U.S. Secretary of State Henry A. Kissinger's warning that the U.S. force might be used if the industrial world faced "strangulation" of its oil sources here.

The Emir, however, renewed the agreement in March, 1975, raising the rent then paid nearly six times and authorizing a further increase of U.S. personnel. In August, 1975, he dissolved the National Assembly during a controversy in which the Jufair issue played only a minor role. The government in October, 1975, then declared that the facilities would have to go by mid-1977, and that this reflected a U.S.-Bahraini "understanding."

From page 1

*Jimmy Carter's blue jeans

across economics, sex, race, countries. . . . There's no element of status or stigma. It's all honest fabric."

"Sales are going to continue to be great," says a spokesman for the H. D. Lee Company of Shawnee Falls, Kansas, which also makes jeans. But he, too, is cautious about whether the Carter imprimatur on jeans will have a big effect on an already booming industry.

"There's more business around today than there is good quality denim available," he explains. (No sales figures are available from Lee as a matter of company policy.)

"I'd suggest, if the statement was highly publicized, it would increase the sale of jeans," says a spokesman for Up Against the Wall, a Washington-area chain. Store manager John Onufrak continued:

"People would tend to react to the publicity, as they did when Time magazine did a piece on electric jewelry and sales shot up." Up Against the Wall sells half a million pairs of jeans a year in its 11 stores.

Mr. Onufrak said he attributes their popularity to the versatility and durability of the product, but also to the color. "On the psychological evaluation of the natural color spectrum, blue has one of the most soothing effects," he says.

President-Elect Carter has sold he plans to wear jeans as he always has in Plains, but would not embarrass the American public by wearing them inappropriately — to greet the president of France, say. But that's not good enough for one designer, Pietro Dalmati of Italy, who is a three-time Coty men's fashion award winner. He says, "The way the President dresses is supposed to represent the image of the country, and he's supposed to represent an international point of view."

Speaking of the President in jeans, Mr. Dalmati says: "In the country, it is fabulous, but in the White House, I don't think so — is tacky. To wear casual clothes in the wrong place is tacky."

By Norman Karr, Executive Director of the

Men's Fashion Association of America, Inc., defends a blue-dentist President.

"I appreciate Carter's honesty in wearing blue jeans. . . . This may be a watershed time. . . . Andrew Jackson when he became President did away with silk knee breeches, went into long pants, and maybe Jimmy Carter's jeans will have a similar effect, he suggests.

Jeans are important enough in the fabric of American history to be enshrined at the Smithsonian — a pair of Levi's, to be exact. Mr. Johns notes that his company's founder, Levi Strauss, who began making them for miners needing durable pants during the California gold rush, refused to call them jeans. He called them "waisi overalls."

The word jeans and the alternative, dungarees, actually come from the slang of French sailors who went to work in California during the gold rush. They had seen similar canvas trousers on Genoese sailors and in the Indian Ocean port of Dunga.

From page 1

*Corruption charges plague Rabin's party

company that Mr. Ofer then headed. Mr. Laviv also charged that Mr. Ofer provided apartments at low prices to political benefactors. All the alleged irregularities occurred before Mr. Ofer joined the Rabin government in mid-1974.

Mr. Ofer left a note protesting his innocence and declaring his conviction that the truth would emerge. But, the note said, he did not have the strength to bear any longer the slanders and false accusations leveled against him.

The view widely held here is that the suicide should by no means be construed as a confession of guilt. The liberal daily Haaretz stressed this in an editorial but added: "It is doubtful whether the farewell letter can clear Ofer's name. . . . We feel that the facts that led

to the tragedy must be clarified."

Prime Minister Rabin has expressed determination to investigate allegations of wrongdoing even if they reach to the highest levels of the establishment.

This is not the first case of reported corruption in high places. The man who had been approved by the government for appointment as governor of the state bank, Asher Yadin, has been in pre-trial detention since September, charged with a string of embezzlements and bribes. He also is said to have been privy to the land fraud alleged against Mr. Ofer.

Legal experts have protested the authorities' refusal to grant Mr. Yadin bail. He, as Mr. Ofer did, belongs to the new, younger, leading generation of the ruling Labor Party.

Unconfirmed rumors say the two had pocketed

only part of their gains while channeling most of the funds into the party's election chest.

Meanwhile, President Katzir on Jan. 4 asked Mr. Rabin to try to form a new government to serve until the elections which have been tentatively scheduled for May 17. The President's request and Mr. Rabin's announcement of his acceptance are a constitutional formality.

Mr. Rabin's present minority caretaker Cabinet is made up only of Labor ministers, following his dismissal of three National Religious Party ministers and the resignation of two ministers of the Independent Liberal Party.

The Prime Minister was given 21 days in which to try to put together a new coalition, with the possibility of another 21-day extension.

. . . and Soviet fleet grows busier in Arab seas

By John K. Cooley
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Manama, Bahrain
As the United States seems about to lose, at Bahrain's request, the shore command and home porting facilities it has had here for its small Persian Gulf naval force, the Soviets are extending and consolidating their watch over the vast expanses of seas in this area.

The U.S. force, known as MIDEASTFOR, covers the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea in addition to the gulf. Soviet warships and naval aircraft are expanding their operations throughout the region, although in the gulf itself, as one professional analyst said, their activity still is "surprisingly restrained."

Soviet ships make port visits to Umm Qasr, in Iraq, where the Russians, along with Western firms, are helping to build up the port installations. Recently a Soviet Kaahin-class destroyer visited Bandar Abbas in Iran.

"But neither they nor anyone else is trying to bring in any oil tankers or anything much bigger than a frigate or a destroyer here," the analyst said.

The Shah of Iran's multi-billion dollar purchases of the latest aircraft and naval units, mainly from the United States, is putting teeth into the Shah's expressed determination to be

the dominant naval power in the gulf to the exclusion of both the U.S. and the Soviet Union.

The Soviet Indian Ocean force, say analysts here, now numbers from 15 to 26 ships with an average of six fighting ships among them. The Soviet fleet's capability of supporting their ships at sea with other ships, and their back-up by the 16,000-mile range Soviet Bear and 11-38 naval patrol aircraft now operating out of Somalia, on the East African coast, have made home ports or shore bases practically unnecessary.

The big 11-38s normally fly from the U.S.S.R. through Iran's airspace, bypassing the gulf, down over the Arabian Sea and Indian Ocean and are able to get as far as Diego Garcia, the U.S. base and communications facility in the Indian Ocean, and return home.

However, Iran has in recent weeks grown tougher about granting overflight clearance and is doing so, according to analysts in the gulf area, on a "case-by-case" basis now, apparently delaying or refusing some authorizations. The Iranian decision in November to send back to the U.S.S.R. a defecting Russian pilot and his light plane did not affect this clearance pattern, these analysts say.

In addition to the air facilities at Belindj Amin, (also called Delfi) near Mogadishu, the Somali capital, the Russians use missile testing

and other shore installations on the Somali coast. They also have free use, denied to U.S. and other Western ships, of the big harbor and free port at Aden, capital of the People's Democratic Republic of South Yemen with which the U.S. has no diplomatic relations.

Otherwise the Soviet Union is using anchorages in many places around the Indian Ocean and the Arabian Sea — something the U.S. MIDEASTFOR ships are not equipped to do because of lack of supporting ships unless there is a visit from a U.S. Seventh Fleet ship based in the Pacific.

One of the main permanent Soviet anchorages, marked by conspicuous buoys, is off Socatra Island, which is under the sovereignty of South Yemen.

During recent maneuvers code-named MID-LINK of the Central Treaty Organization navies off Karachi, Pakistan, a Soviet 1-57, a tanker, and a Kaahin-class destroyer shadowed and tracked the U.S. ships — something that is standard practice everywhere now — and even cut in occasionally on U.S. communications circuits which the Soviets were monitoring.

At a recent conference of Persian Gulf foreign ministers — the first ever held, in Muscat, Oman — various draft proposals, none of which was adopted, called for restrictions on "super-power" navies in the gulf.

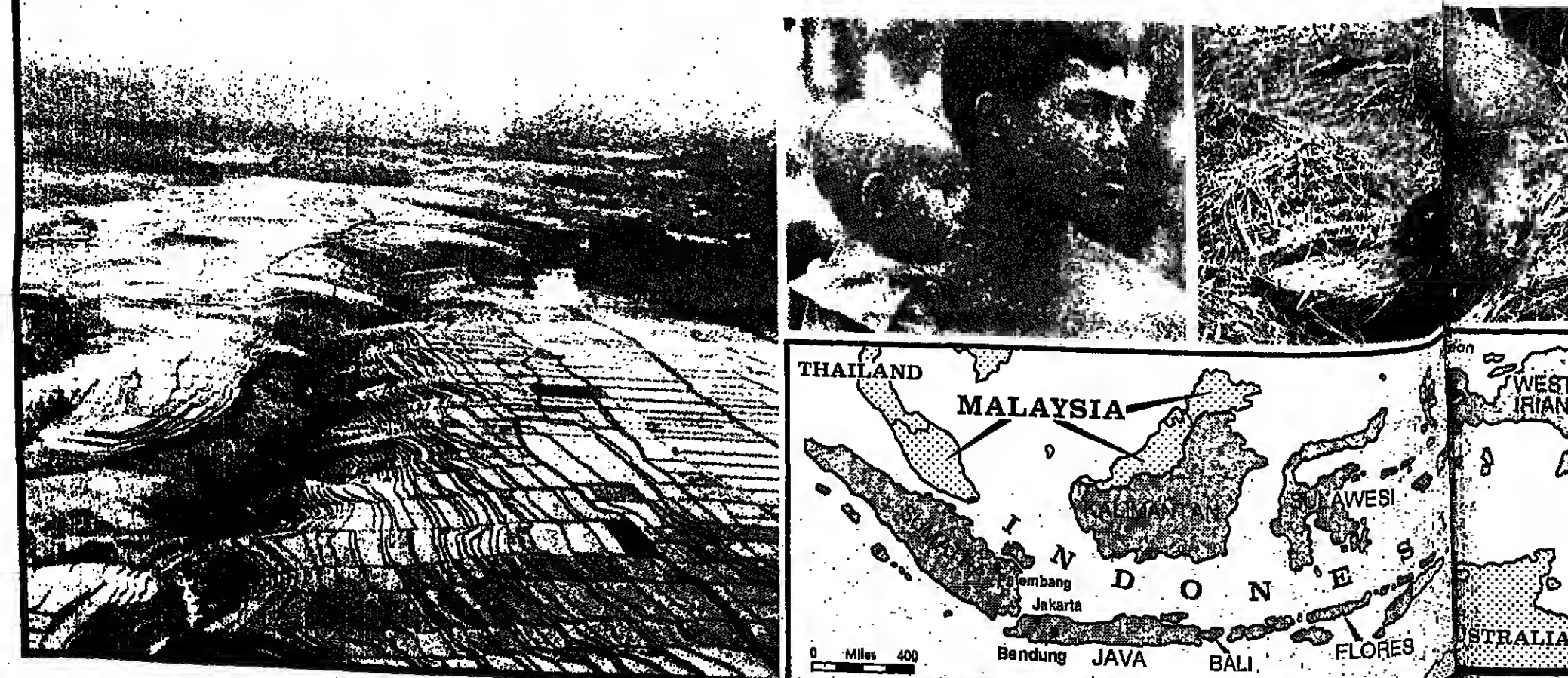


On Bali, one of 13,000 islands that make up Indonesia, a duck 'shepherd' heads across a rice paddy at dawn

INDONESIA

Homesteaders
hope for urban isses

By Frederic A. Morley
Staff correspondent of The Christian Science Monitor



Next spring Indonesia holds a general election, only its second in 22 years. Even as the Suharto government seeks a fresh mandate, this mineral-rich country is waging an uphill battle against economic woes that flout the Javanese ideals of harmony and balance and block the road to the country's becoming a major power in Asia.

Makartijaya, Indonesia

OUTBOARD MOTOR FUMES MIX WITH the steamy haze as the narrow boat skims along. Overhead a canvas canopy fights off the tropical sun.

The boat is headed for Makartijaya, a new village 30 miles upriver from Palembang, the nearest major city. This is the Ujung Delta of Sumatra, one of the 13,000 islands that make up the Republic of Indonesia, the most heavily populated country in Southeast Asia. And that is the rub: Although Indonesia has 130 million people, many parts of the archipelago, like Makartijaya, are overcrowded.

Seven years ago, in fact, there was nothing here but hot tidal swampland. But today, along the canals that lead back from the Mesi River, there are five new villages. About 3,000 people call this place home. Paths stretching along the canal banks are lined with huts, shops, and small cultivated areas.

Many of the families here once lived hundreds of miles away on crowded East Java or Bali, where they were poor landless laborers. They remain poor, even as they struggle to produce rice, corn, and cassava, but now they hold some hope for their futures because they own their own land.

Homesteaders

The people of Makartijaya are homesteaders, some of nearly 50,000 families that have been resettled on such relatively underpopulated islands as Sumatra and Kalimantan (Borneo) since the country began a program in 1969 to relieve overpopulation, improve the lot of the landless poor, and politically integrate the outer islands.

The program provides each family of homesteaders with land, seed, a basic \$300 house, and 18 months of free food. It is called transmigration and was first experimented with by Dutch colonialists in 1906.

But transmigration on a scale large enough to solve the population problem in places like Java, experts say, would be enormously expensive, costing up to \$4,000 per family.

Then there is the land reclamation problem. The government seeks to reclaim 2.5 million acres of swampland (the country may have as many as 12.5 million such acres in all) for agriculture by means of dredging and a system of new canals to drain the marshes at low tide and to irrigate them with fresh water at high tide.

But the reclamation target for the country's second five-year plan (1974 to 1979) has been lowered to 618,000 acres. Officials say difficulties in buying needed dredging equipment are behind the cutback. Independent experts, however, say the retrenchment is more likely due

to an unforeseen \$6 billion to \$10 billion extra debt caused by the financial mismanagement of the state oil company, Pertamina. This year for the first time the World Bank has stepped in to support the transmigration program with a \$30 million loan for a project in Sumatra.

Experts say the 43 million acres of cultivable land in Indonesia theoretically can be doubled if an agricultural lease is built in the outer islands, if new crops can be found, and if settlers are taught new farming methods.

Population growing

Even as these projects continue, however, the population back on Java — already 75 million people — grows by as many as 2 million a year as people exchange the isolation of rural Sumatra and Kalimantan for the hope of a job and better life around Jakarta.

Government regulations bar migration to Jakarta except by those who can show they have jobs, shelter, and money for a return trip. Yet the city's population is said to grow by more than 150,000 persons a year. By most estimates, Jakarta now holds at least 5 million people.

Jakarta is perhaps best characterized by its crowded and unimproved kampungs, or "urban villages." Up to 250 new acres of them are added annually, while the existing ones become still more crowded.

From December to March high water levels along the city's rivers and the Java seafront mix with rainfall from the west monsoon. Mud clogs walkways and narrow streets. Floods pour into first-floor dwellings.

To try to cope with the problem, Jakarta municipal authorities also have been busy with a program of their own, again with World Bank assistance.

The city's governor, Ali Sadikin, has pioneered an approach designed to make a little go a long way. With only about \$4.25 million a year available to tackle its enormous population problems, the city has opted for improved transportation, sanitation, and flood control rather than a massive new housing program or urban renewal. The city officials leave the quality of housing to individual residents, spending public funds instead to build elevated roads in the kampungs, safe communal water supplies, rubbish disposal sites, and flood-proof public toilets. The expenditures average \$12 per kampung resident.

Neighborhoods are chosen for improvements according to the seriousness of their problems, population density, and the degree of interest shown by local kampung councils. Since 1969, 165 kampungs covering 10,800 acres and affecting about 2 million persons have been improved to one degree or another, according to official statistics.

Improvements dangerous?

But there are those who see dangers in the kampung improvement program. Some economists familiar with the Jakarta situation are concerned that continued improvement may tend to push the city's poorer residents into new zones of squatted housing still farther from downtown. As land values rise because of such projects, impoverished persons desperate for income sometimes subvert what property they have to those more prosperous and then move

themselves farther out. There they build new shelters in unimproved areas.

Meanwhile, the program has been unable to help many of the poorest — the landless migrants who flock to Jakarta in the hope that even odd jobs will give them a better living than precarious seasonal farm labor.

The answer to the problem, however, say economists, lies back where the migrants are coming from — in the countryside. They point to projects such as the Jatiluhur Irrigation Authority, across the dusty Jakarta Plain in West Java.

This massive water management project affects 3 million people and unifies 11 river basins. It also helps increase the vital food supply by supporting two rice crops a year instead of one.

The 600,000 acres of farmland that lie within the Jatiluhur district make up 3 percent of Indonesia's rice fields and produce 8 percent of its harvest. At the same time, a multipurpose reservoir that is part of the system not only provides water for irrigation but also helps control seasonal flooding and generates electric power for the cities of Jakarta and Bandung.

Like the Makartijaya and Jakarta projects, this one also is assisted by a grant from the World Bank — in this case through the International Development Association. It is one of seven such projects on Java, Kalimantan, Sulawesi (formerly the Celebes), and Sumatra that have been undertaken since the first Indonesian five-year plan was developed in the late 1960s.

Some results

The Jatiluhur project has produced some measurable results. There is more food than before for local consumption and for selling. This has brought such prosperity to the area that one resident says proudly, "There are now 36 motorcycles and one car in my village."

Even here, however, the situation is not without its negative side. Jatiluhur has a mechanized rice mill run by the village association. And while nearly everyone agrees that it is a faster, cheaper, and more efficient method of hulling the harvested rice than manual labor used to be, it has put the women of the village out of work. Once they hulled the rice at the rate of 4.5 pounds a day, keeping one-third of a pound as their pay. At the same time, many of the landless field hands who used to harvest the rice by means of a small tool held in the palm — earning as little as 35 cents a day in the process — have been rendered jobless by the adoption of a larger and more efficient sickle.

What ultimately is needed, say some economists, is new labor-intensive industry that can use the unemployed. Despite improved crop yields, construction of new roads and schools, and the introduction of an increasing number of consumer goods into the countryside, they say, migration to the cities can be expected to continue unless there is more serious discussion and careful planning of the kinds of large and small industries that can provide new jobs for displaced workers.

Says one expert, looking at the problem, "There is no going backwards."

Jigsaw pattern of terraced rice paddies glimmers on Bali, where a father and child pose for chief photographer Gordon N. Converse, and a woman is photographed at work hulling rice. Map by Joan Forbes, staff cartographer

people

An American inhabits Victorian London

'Coachman's flat' invokes earlier century

By Barbaranell Hymes
Special in
The Christian Science Monitor

London
Just off the noisy thoroughfare of London's Gloucester Road lies a quiet cobbled courtyard known as Canning Place Mews. Built in 1851, it still stables horses, as well as two Victorian carriages. One of these is used every day by an American, Dennis Severs, who gives historical tours around London in a horse-driven carriage.

In keeping with the mews, Mr. Severs lives two floors above his horse and carriage in a coachman's flat which he himself transformed in eight days' time into three period rooms, designed to be lived in just as they would have been during their original eras.

If you peer through the windows you will see a still life from the past: candles burn in brass candlesticks, leatherbound books are stacked next to 18th-century china, a fire flickers in one of the two hearths. Multicolored wallpaper has been scrupulously avoided. The entire flat is illuminated only by candles (except for small bulbs which light up the oil paintings). And even the heating comes solely from wood-burning fires in the drawing room, coal-burning fires in the iron stove in the dining room, and paraffin in the bedroom.

As a student of English social history, Mr. Severs chose to live and study in England when he was 17. He lived for nine years with an English family on their estate in Hampshire, and studied law at the Middle Temple.

Yet Dennis Severs retains that open enthusiasm which Americans are noted for abroad. He explained: "My job has turned out to be a way of life. And since I spend my whole day talking about the 18th and 19th centuries, I thought that it would be nice to live in them as well."

"Because I have to be around for most of the day, answering the phone for tour bookings and cleaning the carriage, I've adopted the idea of the English Victorians — that is, making a ceremony and distinguishing every part of the day. Life isn't simply working hard and then returning home to play hard; it's eating, sleeping, cleaning — every aspect of the day. And if I make the most of it all, I then have a very colorful life indeed."

"For example, heat isn't just heat. If it's coal, it's got to be carted in. If it's wood, it's got to be found, hauled in, and chopped up. There's always something to do."



Coal stove and a table set for tea

His day begins and ends in what was once the harness room, now designed as a late 18th-century studio, somewhat pre-Raphaelite in feeling. The room has been separated into thirds: the first, his sleeping area, is painted in soft yellow and filled entirely by a bed which is covered in yellow damask. Above it hang orange and yellow stained-glass windows. The second area is his desk area. It is painted orange and is sectioned off by wood and glass partition doors. The third area, his yellow summer kitchen, is packed with early kitchen pottery and turn-of-the-century photographs. Throughout the room, Victorian prints cover the walls and bits of memorabilia are scattered everywhere.

In the early 18th-century dining room or "parlor" most of the day's activity occurs. This is a convivial room in which guests sit around a pedestal table (covered in an old Turkish rug) chatting or eating off 18th-century earthenware, while Mr. Severs cooks on a coal-burning iron stove placed in the hearth.

Of all three rooms, the parlor is the most boldly conceived in that the walls are painted a bottle green. But the effect works dramatically: against those green walls hang white cotton-lace window-curtains and blue and white plates, while candles flicker warmly and coals smolder in the grate. Above the hearth, the plaster has been chipped away to expose the brick, creating an almost rustic air. It is in the parlor that Mr. Severs serves his famous waffles, made from a 19th-century recipe.

"I don't have anything that isn't used," he asserted. "Everything has a purpose, everything has a place. And because it's all period, it never leaves a mess behind — it leaves a still life."

By 6:00 p.m. the fire is set in the 18th-century drawing room so that after supper Mr. Severs moves ceremoniously back into another period.

"The drawing room acts as a true evening room in that the things which go with evening (i.e. dressing up for dinner, sitting by the fire) occur. In other words, the chores of the day are done, now you deserve a treat."

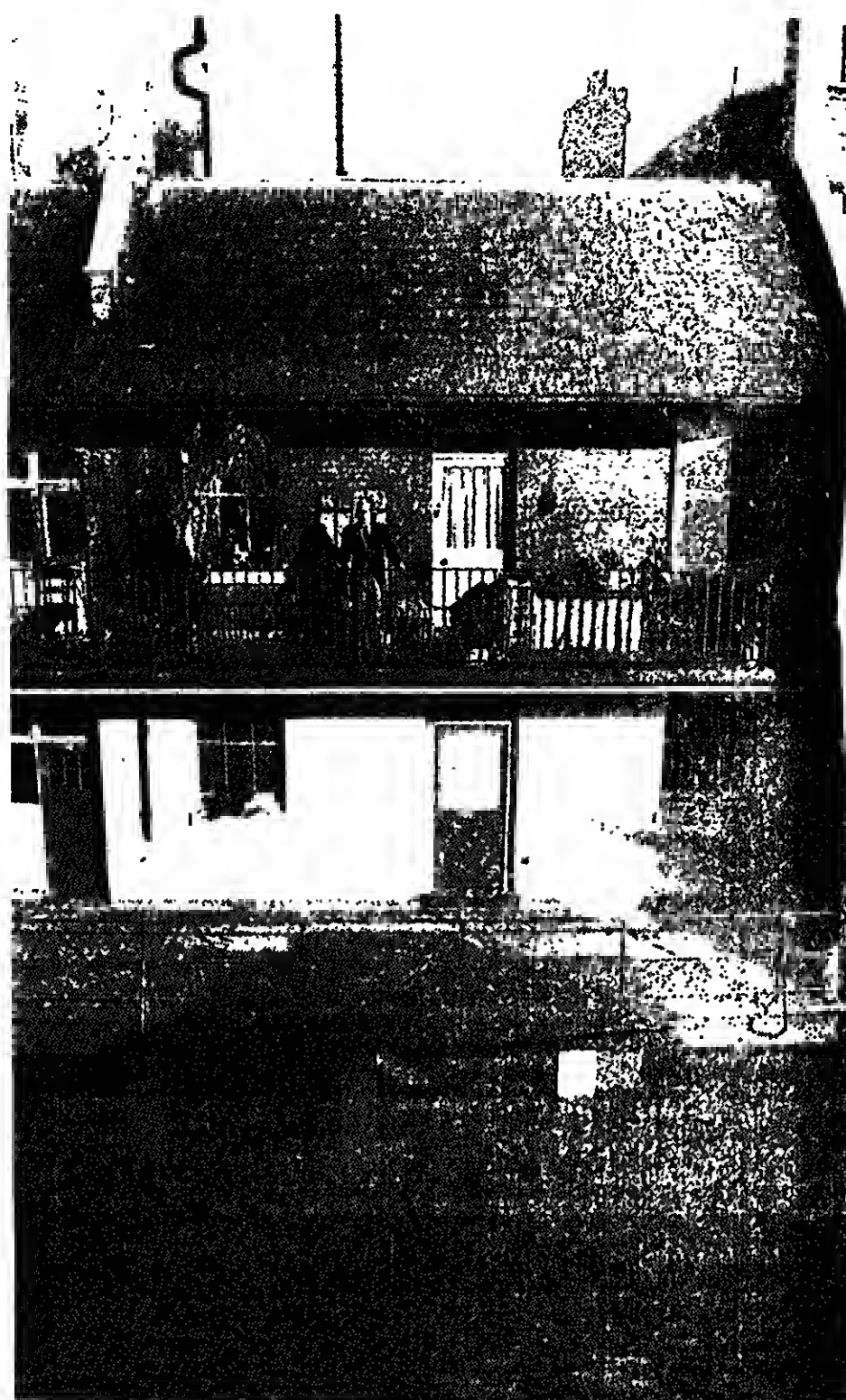
The central corridor contains the dilapidated bathroom. This is the only room to have remained untouched, with ceiling paint peeling off and hanging down like curling stalagmites. "This I left to remind myself and others just how it used to be. Otherwise, no one would believe that the flat was a total wipeout before I moved in (having never been used as an actual flat before). And besides, everything looks so good after having passed through the bathroom."

On entering the 18th-century drawing room, the period of exquisite proportions, one feels the graciousness of a room in harmony with itself. Mr. Severs said he hoped the effect was "like going to a family's for dinner and finding out that they all loved each other so much that the atmosphere was nice."

The colors here are autumnal — browns, golds, and dark blue — against walls of sandy coral. "The English," said Mr. Severs, "loved to bring the colors and patterns of the outside, inside, hence their designs are typically floral." This type of decorating Mr. Severs referred to as "English haute" (pronounced without the "h") in which everything is of a different upholstery — one chair is in crewelwork, another in brocade — so that each piece stands out on its own merit, yet never protrudes.

There are, of course, disadvantages to Mr. Severs's way of life, restoration and maintenance being the most obvious. He consults both Mrs. Newton's 19th-century "Book of Household Management," and the local "old boys" to find out just how things were done in the past. After pulling up three coats of underlaid and hardboard in the drawing room, and uncovering handsome wood floors underneath, he learned that the soot from the fireplaces (which he had to clean out and reopen) could be rubbed into the floor as a stain and then leached out with beer.

He has also developed a household schedule. Every two days, dusting takes place. Every two days, the candles are changed. Every two weeks the brass and silver are polished. And



Dennis Severs outside his flat at Canning Place Mews



18th-century drawing room with wig stand (L) and wingback chairs

every four days coal is brought up to the flat.

Heating is sufficient, he says, without gas or electricity, but finding the wood can present problems.

The only real inconvenience, Mr. Severs mentioned with amusement, was in connection with the bathtub's hot water. Each time the

hot water tap is turned, the gas gasket explodes and the front door bursts open. But he also maintains that "everything tastes so much better after you have worked up a good sweat. It's like camping out." To which he adds, "May all my problems be 18th-century ones!"

Photos by Barbaranell Hymes

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FIR

Less demand for OPEC oil may force price down

Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Washington
The Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) faces a 4 to 6 million barrel-per-day drop in world demand for its oil, according to estimates of top administration officials.

As a result, they expect oil prices eventually to settle at about \$12.00 a barrel. That is the price set for Jan. 1 by Saudi Arabia and the United Arab Emirates, rather than the higher \$12.70 decreed by Iran and the other OPEC members.

The key problem facing the cartel is how they are going to allocate production cutbacks in the face of declining demand.

All companies and consumers around the world began increasing their inventories this fall in anticipation of higher oil prices. This added demand pushed daily OPEC production to more than 32 million barrels per day, up about 6 million from early 1976 levels.

Storage brimful

But now oil storage tanks everywhere are brimming, and irrespective of the recent decision by OPEC to raise prices, demand is falling.

The classic problem facing any cartel is how to allocate production cutbacks among the members. This has been a thorny issue in OPEC since it became a true cartel in 1973.

Certainly buyers will be taking all of the Saudi and Emirates oil they can get because of its lower price. That means that the remaining OPEC members will have to absorb all of the short-term drop in demand.

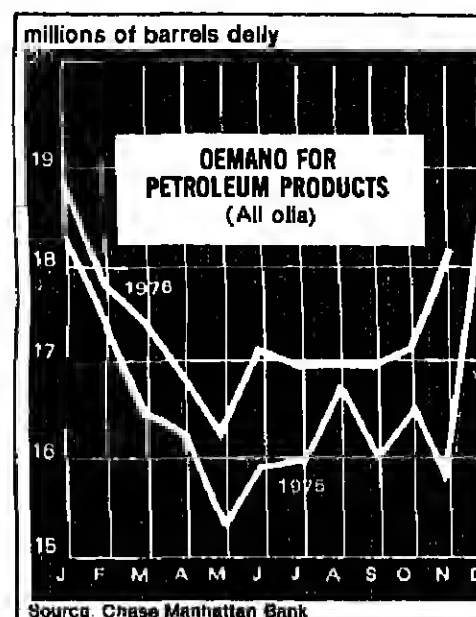
Saudi Arabia and the UAE pump about one-third of OPEC's total output. Because of the inventory swing, the other members will see their output fall from about 20 million barrels per day to perhaps 15 million. Iran, OPEC's second-largest producer, with a production capacity of about 6.8 million barrels a day, will be particularly hard hit.

A prime promoter

Iran has benefited enormously from the recent inventory buildup. It has been producing almost at capacity. Nevertheless, Iran's economic development program and its military arms buildup are costing so much that the country has been forced to borrow money to pay its bills. That was one reason the Iranians were so determined at the recent OPEC meeting in Qairat to jack the price up by at least 10 percent. They need the money.

Now the Iranians are faced with the prospect of sharply reduced production levels. The reduced levels are necessary both because of the switch from inventory building to inventory liquidation and because the Saudis have lifted their self-imposed production ceiling of 8.5 million barrels a day. The Saudis determined that the price rise no more than 5 percent, announced that they would produce and sell as much oil as buyers want. Estimates put their maximum production capacity as high as 11.5 to 11.8 million barrels a day.

Should the Saudis do that, then the OPEC members that raised their prices 10 percent would see their output fall another 3 million barrels a day on top of the demand decline caused by the new price structure. There is simply no way for the cartel to function with cutbacks of that magnitude. In the past three years, it has been the Saudis' willingness to absorb the lion's share of such cutbacks — to



Source: Chase Manhattan Bank
By Gene Langley, staff writer

U.S. Demand Anticipates Price Hike

daily totals as low as 8 million barrels — thus ensuring OPEC's effectiveness.

For instance, OPEC has never been able to agree on a policy for determining so-called differentials for sulfur content, specific gravity, and location. OPEC prices have been set for a particular grade of crude oil, Saudi Arabian light, delivered on board a tanker at the Persian Gulf. Heavier oil, which makes less gasoline is usually worth less. It is worth more if it is closer to a market, or if it is less sulfur.

Discounts expected

"The betting here is that the world price of oil, after a period of great confusion, will settle close to that set by the Saudis and the Emirates. The other OPEC countries may try to save face by sticking to their higher posted price, but offer discounts in some form."

Meanwhile, all those buyers who stocked up in hopes of beating the price hike stand to lose money unless they can unload that oil quickly. Some of them paid as much as \$12.20 a barrel in the spot market, and to that has to be added storage costs. If they cannot sell that oil within a month or two, they stand to lose enormous amounts of money. That is just one more factor that will be putting the squeeze on the OPEC members with higher-priced oil.

British-Saudi soccer deal

London
Oil-rich Saudi Arabia has turned to Britain in search of coaches for a football training program for young Arabs.

The wealthy desert kingdom has asked BBC sports commentator Jimmy Hill, onetime player with the London Fulham Football Club, to find a national team manager, who would be paid £45,000 (\$72,000) a year. Mr. Hill, who is in charge of the £25 million (\$40 million) Arab soccer scheme, has to engage five coaches, a referee adviser, and a headquarters staff.

The regional training coaches will prepare teams for the fifth Arabian soccer tournament in Mocha, 1978. Prince Faisal signed the deal in early June.

The Saudi-British contract is for five years and represents a major development in Britain's growing commercial links with the Arab world.

Foreign exchange cross-rates

By reading across this table of last Tuesday's mid-day inter-bank foreign exchange rates, one can find the value of the major currencies in the national currencies of each of the following financial centers. These rates do not take into account bank service charges. (C) = commercial rate.

	U.S. Dollar	British Pound	W. German Mark	French Franc	Dutch Guilder	Belgian Franc	Swiss Franc
New York	1.0000	1.7600	2.4733	203.00	410.00	0.2180	410.00
London	5862	1.0000	2.505	1150	2404	0.15336	2403
Frankfurt	2.3403	3.9925	1.0000	4751	9997	0.05223	9595
Paris	4.9251	8.4039	2.1049	1.0000	2.0202	0.13231	7.0197
Amsterdam	2.4384	4.1600	1.0419	4950	—	0.07699	9998
Brussels (C)	35.8809	61.2178	15.3315	7.2838	14.7247	—	14.7112
Zurich	2.4390	4.1610	1.0422	4954	1.0000	0.07699	—

The following are U.S. dollar values only: Argentine peso: .00388; Australian dollar: 1.0805; Danish krone: .1736; Italian lire: .00142; Japanese yen: .00343; New Zealand dollar: .6503; South African rand: 1.1600.

Source: First National Bank of Boston, Boston

science

Fusion: the world's ultimate energy source

Progress in recent years leads experts to think they are at last about to get the energy source that powers the sun running in the laboratory. But it may take decades of development to find out whether or not this can be used in power plants. And those who expect fusion to be environmentally 'clean' may be shocked to learn that fusion's first use may be to breed plutonium to fuel ordinary nuclear power.

By Robert C. Cowen
Staff writer of
The Christian Science Monitor

For E. P. Velikov (U.S.S.R.) and Edwin E. Kintner (U.S.A.), happiness is a chart prepared by Rex Pease (Britain). It traces two decades of progress in the toughest technological feat ever attempted on this planet — domesticating hydrogen fusion, the nuclear process that turns matter into energy to power the stars.

That chart, drawn by the director of Britain's Culham (fusion) Laboratory is cited around the world these days. It shows an acceleration in progress for the last five years that encourages fusion experts to think they at last are closing in on a long-sought goal — ignition of the stellar fire under controlled conditions.

Dr. Kintner, director of the Division of Magnetic Fusion Energy of the Energy Research and Development Administration (ERDA), used the chart to make this point during a recent visit by Dr. Velikov, who heads fusion research in the Soviet Union. "I see no reason to believe the progress won't continue," Dr. Kintner said. Dr. Velikov added that results of the past three years in particular are so encouraging he and Dr. Kintner were putting themselves on record as being "more confident than at any time in the past that practical fusion power can be achieved by the end of this century."

Getting fusion running in the laboratory will be only one small, albeit crucial, step toward that ultimate goal. To make that laboratory process into a practical power plant, materials that now do not exist must be developed to withstand the forces involved. Capital costs, whose present imperfect projections seem beyond practicality, must be beaten down to economically feasible levels. Most important, the governments and peoples of the international partnership of nations that have taken on this task for humanity will have to sustain a costly development for decades to come.

We are "more confident than at any time in the past that practical fusion power can be achieved by the end of this century."

"It will take a lot of faith and a lot of commitment," Dr. Kintner said. "\$15 billion just for the United States between now and 1980." Costs will be proportionately high for other members of the partnership — the Soviet Union, Japan, and Britain, France, Germany, and Italy working as individual countries as well as members of the Euratom consortium.

"There isn't any question it's going to be done," Dr. Kintner added. "If you try to envision the planet without fusion to help supply energy, I don't know how you do it. So you go ahead hopefully, aggressively, taking the problems as they arise in time."

Not all experts are quite so optimistic about mankind's ability to appropriate the power supply of the stars, the ultimate energy source that theoretically could give us abundant power for the foreseeable future.

David J. Rose and Michael Feitlag of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology liken it to "planning to reach heaven." In assessing fu-

sion's prospects in the December issue of Technology Review, they observe that "theories abound on how to do it, and many people are trying, but no one alive has ever succeeded."

They do not doubt that fusion can be made to go in the laboratory. However, they add that "the technological and engineering difficulties now are known to far surpass any original estimates." They judge it will take another decade or two just to find out whether or not fusion is a viable energy option.

"Is civilization mad to persist in a search that seems so complex, so uncertain?" they ask rhetorically, and answer that "the challenge is too important to be ignored." There are only two other long-term energy options: nuclear fusion via the breeder reactor, with its problems of public acceptance, of radioactive waste disposal, and of keeping poisonous plutonium out of the environment and the hands of terrorists; and solar energy, which as a major power source right now seems even more complex and uncertain than fusion.

Both optimistic and pessimistic experts agree that mankind has no sensible alternative to continuing to explore the practicality of making hydrogen atoms undergo a process that, on earth, doesn't come naturally.

Thus it is that both optimists and pessimists among the experts agree that mankind has no sensible alternative to continuing to explore whether or not it really is practical to try to make hydrogen atoms undergo a process that, on earth, doesn't come naturally.

As with all atoms, the nuclei of hydrogen carry a positive electric charge. The closer they come together, the more they try to fly apart, since like charge repel one another. Yet if two hydrogen nuclei do come very close together, a powerful nuclear force of attraction takes over. The two particles fuse to form helium and release energy.

The hydrogen particles must move together very fast to overcome their natural repulsion. Their speeds must be equivalent to temperatures of many tens of millions of degrees. A gas at such temperatures would disperse explosively unless forcibly confined. Stars hold their hydrogen fuel together by the overpowering pressure of gravity. But an object less massive than the giant planet Jupiter doesn't have the weight to do the job. So physicists look to means of confinement they know will work on earth. They look to the aurora borealis and the hydrogen bomb.

In the bomb, the explosion of a nuclear fission trigger compresses the hydrogen fuel violently, heating it to temperatures where fusion ignites. Everything happens so fast fusion takes place before the gas has a chance to disperse. In laboratories in the United States, the Soviet Union, France, and Japan, physicists are experimenting with miniature hydrogen bombs as a possible source of power. Intense beams of laser light or of fast-moving particles strike millimeter-size fuel pellets. This vaporizes the pellet surface, creating pressures that compress the fuel a thousandfold to ignite a

miniature nuclear explosion. Alternatively, magnetic fields a million times more powerful than that of earth crush the pellets to the same end.

While this line of attack has promise, Drs. Velikov and Kintner, in a paper surveying fusion research, judge that it will be some years before experts know whether or how microbombs can be a practical source of power. More tangible progress is being made by following the lead of the aurora.

For two decades, the main thrust of fusion has been a search for the best kind, most leak-proof magnetic bottle.

Because atomic nuclei are electrically charged, a magnetic field can get a grip on them. High above our heads, earth's magnetic field traps electrically charged particles. They travel back and forth between north and south polar regions, where relatively intense parts of the field reflect the particles as light is reflected by a mirror. When particles leak out of this entrapment into the lower atmosphere, they give rise to the lights of the aurora.

Magnetism is an effective means for controlling charged particles. So for two decades, the main thrust of fusion has been a search for the best kind, most leak-proof magnetic bottle. One main type mimics the auroral system, with magnetic mirrors plugging the ends of the bottle. Recent work in the United States and the Soviet Union has brought this concept to a point where Drs. Kintner and Velikov consider it a strong backup to the currently most promising concept of all, the tokamak, a doughnut-shaped magnetic bottle.

Invented in the Soviet Union and developed intensively in several countries, the tokamak is the type of machine that scores highest on the Pease fusion progress chart. One such device at MIT, called Alcator, has improved a thousandfold on the fuel density and confinement time possible 20 years ago. Only another fifty-fold improvement is needed to reach the range practical for self-sustained fusion. Meanwhile, other laboratories in several countries have pushed tokamak temperatures within sight of fusion heat.

What encourages physicists in all this is the successful way their projections of tokamak performance are working out. They see no obstacle to scaling up to reactor size. As Alcator project manager Ronald R. Parker puts it, "The thing about tokamaks is, you build them big and they work, you build them bigger and they work better."

With the United States, the Soviet Union, Japan and perhaps Euratom all building and planning better magnetic bottles, fusion, in one or two development stages, should be running in the laboratory by the 1980s.

The United States, Soviet Union, Japan, and perhaps Euratom are all building and planning bigger and better tokamaks that, in one or two development stages, should have fusion running in the laboratory by the 1980s. Anticipating this kind of progress, ERDA in the United States and the Kurchatov Institute, of which Dr. Velikov is deputy director in the Soviet Union, anticipate having prototype power reactors by the end of that decade. These would not be power plants, but test reactors to try out materials, processes, and operating conditions of power stations.

The practical problems already loom formidably. The type of fusion envisioned takes place between doubly heavy hydrogen, called deuterium, and tritium, a form three times as heavy as ordinary hydrogen. This type of fu-

sion releases most of its energy as fast-moving neutrons. These must pass through the walls of the containment vessel and can cause much damage as they do so. They will make the wall and other vessel materials radioactive. No material now known can stand up to that attack satisfactorily.

Repair and replacement of the radioactive containment wall in a highly radioactive environment may be a regular maintenance job on a tokamak-type power plant. Those and Feitlag feel that this problem of the wall may be critical to success or failure of fusion power. Dr. Kintner agrees it is critical, but calls it one of the many engineering problems that will be manageable as development proceeds.

Engineering problems right now seem formidable, and engineers will have to work hard to develop a fusion system of practical cost and size. This phalanx of problems adds to the temptation some experts feel to produce a quick, cheap, and dirty form of fusion right away.

Other engineering problems right now seem equally formidable — among them those of getting fuel into the reactor and taking useful energy out, or of sustaining powerful magnetic fields with magnets kept at near zero degrees absolute temperatures. Robert W. Conn and Gerald L. Kulcinski of the University of Wisconsin put all this together into a vision of what a fusion power plant might be like and came up with a monster bigger than the first Astronaut and costing several billions of dollars. This is not what a fusion power plant actually would look like or cost, they explain. But the study does show engineers will have to work hard to develop a fusion system of practical cost and size.

In the Soviet Union there is less concern about ordinary breeder reactors.

This phalanx of problems adds to the temptation some experts feel to produce a quick, cheap, and dirty form of fusion right away. Deuterium-tritium fusion produces neutrons abundantly. When the non-fission form of uranium is irradiated by neutrons it turns into fissionable plutonium. It takes only a back-of-the-envelope calculation for an expert to show that fusion can outbreed the controversial breeder (fission) reactor. What's more, the fusion process does not have to be efficient to be economically attractive for this purpose. The generation of fusion devices now being built will not achieve self-sustained fusion, that is, an action that will run by itself and not eat more energy than it produces. But they will produce plenty of neutrons for breeding.

Dr. Kintner says he doubts that such a device would be tried in the United States because of public concern about ordinary breeder reactors. But Dr. Velikov says "In the U.S.S.R., we have a more positive attitude toward nuclear power." He says his country is planning such a hybrid fusion reactor because the value of the plutonium produced would more than make up for the inefficiency of the fusion reactor.

However, the main goal of fusion research in the Soviet Union, as elsewhere, is development of full-fledged fusion power. Asked what would be the ideal program for reaching that goal, Dr. Kintner said, "I think we have it. We have a leading concept in the tokamak and a good backup in the mirrors, while we are also looking into a number of other concepts. Along with this we are starting a long-term attack on reactor problems." With a little more money might help, he added that he thinks the United States could usefully spend only 30 to 40 percent more than it now spends — \$224 million.

environment

Naturalists scale cliffs to save endangered birds

By Judith Frutkin
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

Ojai, California

On craggy cliffs in Colorado and California, two independent teams of naturalists are ready to risk their lives to save two species of vanishing wildlife.

One of the endangered species is the peregrine falcon, once known as the royal falcon. A majestic bird that has fascinated man for centuries, the peregrine falcon is an awesome predator, swooping and diving at speeds up to 200 miles per hour. Now, because of the supposed harmful effects of DDT on eggshells (today 20 percent thinner than in the 1950s) there are fewer than 40 nesting pairs left in the lower 48 states.

The other rare bird is the California condor, a shy scavenger with a nine-foot wing span, the largest bird ever to range the North American continent. Once, the condor flew along the entire Pacific Coast from Canada to the Baja California peninsula, displaying nearly unmatched soaring talents. Now, the last remaining colony in the U.S. (located in southern California) is down to an estimated 45 members — 10 fewer than a decade ago.

The only hope for either of these species, according to concerned scientists, lies in two drastic plans: one — already underway — to remove fragile falcon eggs from their high-altitude nests; the other — awaiting final approval — to capture condors for breeding in U.S. zoos.

Both plans are intricate. According to wildlife experts, and at best a gamble. On one hand, scientists say, they could conceivably do more harm than good. But the alternative — to leave the birds alone — they say would virtually insure their extinction.

The more dangerous program is the Colorado plan to hatch falcon eggs in incubators, and then return the birds to nature.

From a base camp in Fort Collins, a team of federal, state, and university scientists — carrying nets — are scaling high and isolated cliffs, scooping the just-hatched eggs from precariously perched nests; carrying them gingerly to incubators; feeding them a meat-based diet hand-cranked from the mouths of wooden dummies (intended to give the impression of substitute mother birds); and returning them to their natural nests, called "aeries."

Here in Ojai, a proposal to save the condors has been designed by a government-sponsored

group called the "Condor Recovery Team." The plan has been forwarded to the U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service for final approval.

The proposal calls for capturing at least three birds — a male and female pair and a second male intended to mate with a California condor at the Los Angeles Zoo, the only California condor in captivity.

The condors will be caught in so-called "bow net traps," meaning that after a condor settles on some strategically placed bait, two large hoops of netting will spring up and around it, enclosing the bird — presumably without inflicting injury or pain.

The problem, according to Sanford Wilbur, chairman of the recovery team, is that no one knows why California condors are not reproducing in the wild. According to the naturalists, the remaining birds should be producing four to six young birds a year. But in recent years the birth rate has dropped to between two and none at all.

"It could be intrusions by man or lack of food or even pesticides," says Dr. Wilbur, a U.S. Fish and Wildlife Service naturalist.

The condor proposal has provoked a heated controversy within the environmental community.

Supporting the program is the National Audubon Society. While its board of directors has not yet taken an official position, John R. Newman, an Audubon official and member of the recovery team, has played a key role in developing the proposal.

"We don't have all the answers," Dr. Newman says. "We will be trying things for the first time and no one can guarantee success. We also know that we are running out of time."

Opposing the program is the local Sierra Club. Its members argue that a \$5,000-a-year federal condor sanctuary, established near Ojai, to allow the condors to reproduce naturally, should be fully developed before the birds are captured.

"These birds are extremely sensitive creatures," says Dorothy Condit, former chairman of the Sierra Club's wildlife committee. "We fear that the young birds, once raised in captivity, will never be returned successfully to the wild."

Condors are known to resent even minimal intrusions, often quickly abandoning established hunting and nesting territories. They have also been known to feed 35 miles from their nesting sites.



Cliff top northwest of Los Angeles
California condors: only 45 left

AP photo

Swiss students want car-free day

By Lynn Shepard
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Burgdorf, Switzerland

The Swiss Parliament has again been asked to pass a law to ban driving nationwide on 12 Sundays a year.

The idea, first proposed by students at the technical institute in this Bernese town, is now being pressed by a member of Parliament.

But the country's powerful tourism industry has denounced the plan as an encroachment on the rights of car owners and a serious threat to the hotel and travel trade.

The Swiss public first experienced Sunday motor traffic bans in 1873. That year the government passed an emergency decree to save on fuel during the oil embargo. Motorists were forced to give up pleasure rides in the Alpine countryside four Sundays within two months.

Surprisingly, many found the sacrifice more than bearable. Not only did they breathe fresher air in the crowded cities, but many enjoyed pedaling bicycles on streets suddenly free of motor hazards. Only streetcars, buses, taxis, and ambulances were allowed on the streets, except in emergency cases.

The pleasant change persuaded students here in Burgdorf to gather signatures for a federal initiative to make the ban a clause in the Swiss Constitution. Last year, the students

presented their petition to the government with the signatures of 117,000 voters.

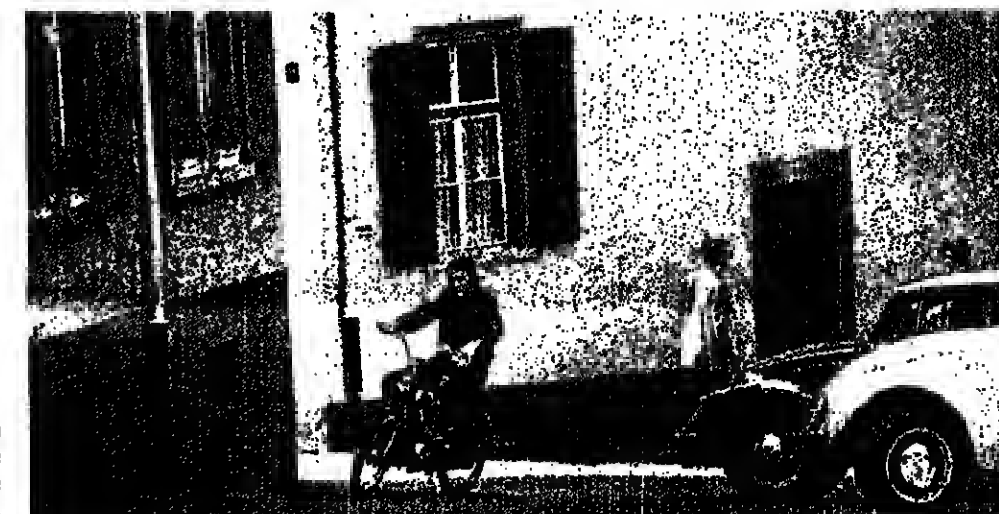
One of the student activists, communications major Hansjörg Wittwer, pleaded the petitioners' cause through the mass media.

"Aren't we all obligated," he asked readers of the Zürich Weltwoche, "to guarantee a healthy environment for future generations? Or are we still bound to the 'After us the deluge' approach, which is always rooted in self-interest?"

These questions remain open — and may stay that way for some time to come. Swiss practice permits the government to study the impact of initiatives up to five years before taking a stand. It invariably urges Parliament to reject such measures or support a counterproposal. Accordingly, the Burgdorf initiative has been "filed and forgotten" for more than a year.

But partly to revive interest in the issue, Rep. Jean-François Aubert and 31 co-sponsors have now requested the government to draft a law banning Sunday driving once every month. Mr. Aubert, a law professor at the University of Neuchâtel, gained impressive support for the move outside his tiny Liberal Party.

A spokesman for the Swiss National Tourist Office immediately warned that the travel industry will try to defeat both the Burgdorf initiative and the Aubert proposal. If the Swiss people approve either one, he said, it would



Chur, Switzerland

Some Swiss would enjoy a once-a-month traffic ban in their cities

mean a "clear setback" for travel promotion. Switzerland's hotel and travel trade, the spokesman made clear, depends heavily on weekend pleasure visits from neighboring countries — Austria, France, Italy, and West Germany. It won't give up this income without a fight.

Given the government's traditional opposition to initiatives in Parliament, the issue is to come to a vote next year at the earliest. In any case, the proposal will eventually

come to a nationwide ballot — as an initiative or as a referendum. For it to carry in either form, it will need a majority vote plus the approval of more than half of the 26 cantons.

The prospects of passage aren't encouraging, but Switzerland's "ecology first" advocates take heart over one vital item: An opinion poll sampling a year ago by the Swiss Automobile Association showed that a majority of the country's drivers favor the idea of an occasional "day of rest" for their cars.

home

Decorating ideas from a top designer

By Marilyn Hoffman
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor

New York
Richard W. Jones this year has decorated a new Manhattan apartment for himself, become editor of a new magazine called Residential Interiors, run his own design business, and served as national president of the American Society of Interior Designers (ASID). He juggles his various involvements with a quiet sense of command that keeps his friends and colleagues in a state of admiring wonderment.

As ASID president, he has secured the bonds of the January, 1975, merger which brought the former National Society of Interior Designers and the American Institute of Decorators together in what is now the world's largest design organization — 8,338 professional members in all categories, and almost 7,000 student members.

"The organization today has more voice, more clout, and more recognition from both industry and government," says Mr. Jones. Yes, he affirms, the merger is working fine.

As for his new apartment, he declares, "I am an inveterate user of leftovers. I don't believe in tossing things out. I do believe in recycling, regrouping, and repainting."

The designer decided to go completely contemporary — except for one small antique Japanese table — in his new home overlooking Central Park. Since the north light coming through window walls can be strong and produce glare, he opted for black walls and furniture in his bedroom-office, and for soft terra-cotta colored walls in the hallway and living room. He got this rich hue by painting walls first with a flat terra-cotta paint, then glazing with a compound mixed with burnt umber. He then rubbed until the walls took on the textured look of velvet suede. A stenciled black pointed border sets off the terra-cotta which the designer finds equally flattering to all people.

He divided the long living room with a partition covered with a black and white Indonesian batik and a high divider arrangement of shelves (which were white in his last home, but lacquered black for the new setting) and back lighted for a new effect.

What had formerly been the entranceway and dining end of the room, next to the kitchen, he converted into a "gallery" for the exhibition in a large, low, square lighted box and on box pedestals, of choice pieces of African art. He closed off windows which looked out onto a barren court, with a fanciful African tribal men's weaving. A cloth of many colors woven in squares, it serves as a textile graphic across the wall and is lighted by ceiling spots hung on a track. The fetish figures on the eale-type box pedestals in either corner are also spotlighted.



Designer Jones gives 'leftovers' life

The four ft. by four ft. display box, with its milky translucent Plexiglas top, is lighted by two four-foot-long fluorescent tube lights, mounted inside, halfway down two facing sides. He uses the same principle with a series of interior lighted plywood boxes with Plexiglas tops (that any homeowner could easily make) which now line up along one wall at several levels, to show off other African artifacts. These boxes have all been repainted terra-cotta to blend with walls.

The four white Formica-covered platforms (all used separately in the designer's former residences) are here clustered together to make one big four-ft. by four-ft. platform in front of the fireplace. On this raised level is the small lacquered Japanese table, lighted from beneath, as well as various other art works.

Beside the Wassily designed modern chair in chrome and black leather, is a tall, fat Haitian basket with a black glass disk fitted into its top, which converts it to a chairside table. Behind the chair is a Jones-designed sculpture made of 75 worth of furnace pipe and con-

Richard W. Jones says . . .

Mr. Jones gave these answers to a series of questions put to him:
How do you define the ideal client?

One who knows enough about interior design to put his faith in an interior designer, and one who can establish a realistic budget that can then serve as an overall guideline to purchases. And by "faith" I don't mean duelle acceptance of another's taste or judgment. I mean a sense of respect and trust, which involves discussion, and exchange of ideas, and includes the freedom for a client to say: "no, I don't like it; no, I don't think it will work for me"; or "no, maybe some other time."

Where is the biggest emphasis in decorating today?

It is on quality. Quality is being demanded and it is being given.

What style trends do you see emerging?

The most obvious direction these days is contemporary. It is being accepted at all levels. I also see the whole natural look going on for quite a while into the future. As for antiques, I think English antiques will become increasingly sought because they offer very good value for the money and are so compatible with the new American contemporary. I also see the use of fine art in homes as an important and growing trend.

With today's steeply rising costs, is the price of an interior designer expendable?

The designer is even more necessary today because his training and know-how give him the ability not only to save clients money but to help them find true values. Any good interior designer keeps up with technological advances and knows how to interpret them for best individual use. If you are going to spend even a little money on your home these days, why not spend it in the best way?

How do you charge?

There are several acceptable and professional ways of charging. My personal preference is to charge a flat design fee for a job, plus a five to ten percent service handling charge for items billed through my office.

How do you advise people who think they cannot afford an interior designer?

I tell them to talk with a few before making that decision. Any ASID chapter office is willing to give a list of names. I also think department-store decorators render a good and helpful design service, and they are often accessible to more people. What are the chief problems in the interior design field today?

Supply, craftsmen, delivery. Delivery of goods is in a terrible state. What used to take from six to eight weeks for delivery, now requires from 12 to 16 weeks, and sometimes more. Lamps I ordered last July for delivery in three weeks are still undelivered; now the company says it will be January first. Delivery dates are constant problems.

sculptors bought from a tinker. The tall finished sculpture was spray-painted and electric lights were dropped into the pipes in cast up a soft glow. Sometimes he tucks a cheap 20 inch kitchen fluorescent tube behind or under a piece of furniture or a pedestal to light and silhouette forms.

He bought very inexpensive General Felt ribbed carpeting (for about \$5 per square yard) also in terra-cotta color, and installed it wall to wall so the room appears entirely wrapped in the warm color.

Art work consists of a series of drawings by the Swiss artist Leonor Fini, each of which Mr. Jones purchased for from \$200 to \$300, and all of which have now increased 10 times in value. His oil paintings range from goul work from

student exhibitions to one or two by major or temporary artists.

He advises young clients who want to buy art collections to begin with good drawings and with the work of gifted students whose work is cheap but often remarkably interesting. In ten years, however, the designer's major of feeling interest has been West African masks and bronzes. "But like most collectors," he says, "I collect too much, too fast. Now I'm refining and weeding out and finding for better examples." Every collector should make such a decision.

Was there anything "left over" that was not used in the new apartment?

"Yes, my French antiques. I put them in storage and went under. I'm giving them a rest. One day they, too, will get recycled."

Austrian strudel with something different

By Rhea Pisko
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor
When vacationing in Hungary or Austria I cannot resist watching the food served in my

friends' homes or in restaurants, hoping to find a dish I have not known yet.

After collecting recipes for so many years my chances are small, of course. But I keep on searching, and the result from my trip last summer is the following recipe for the famous Austrian strudel.

The dough was familiar to me but the filling containing eggs and sweat crumbs, actually a cake-like batter, was new. The strudel was served to us for an afternoon snack and we all loved it.

Fried Strudel

- 3 tablespoons lukewarm milk
- 1 package dry yeast
- 1/2 cup sugar
- 1 cup soft butter
- 1/2 teaspoon salt
- 3 1/2 cups flour
- 2 eggs
- Grated rind of half a lemon
- 2 eggs
- 1/2 cup sugar
- 1/2 cup grated semi-sweet chocolate
- 1 1/2 cups ground walnuts
- Juice and grated rind of half a lemon
- 1/2 cup raisins
- 1/2 cup sweet crumbs (crushed vanilla wafers)
- 1 egg, to use for glaze

In a large bowl mix lukewarm milk, yeast, and sugar. Add softened butter, salt, flour,

slightly beaten eggs, and grated lemon rind. Mix until ingredients hold together, then stir in butter and form into two balls. Cover and let rest at room temperature for one hour.

While dough is resting, prepare filling. In a large bowl beat eggs and sugar until thick and creamy. Add ground walnuts, grated chocolate and juice of lemon, raisins, and enough sweet bread crumbs to have an easily spreadable batter.

In a well-floured board roll out one of the dough balls to an oblong shape, about 17 inches. Spread half of the filling on, leaving one inch bare on the upper side. Roll up, starting with the long side, jelly-roll like, with seam-side to bottom. Work second ball the same way.

Lift both strudels to a well-buttered baking sheet, brush strudels generously with beaten egg. Bake in a preheated oven at 350 degrees F. for 20 minutes, then increase heat to 380 degrees F. and continue baking about 10 minutes more or until tips are slightly browned and cake tester comes out clean.

When strudels are cool, cover with chocolate or lemon icing. Kept in a well-closed container in a cool place. Fried Strudel will keep for many days. Serve 1/2-inch slices.

Those using British measurements should remember that a U.S. cup is equal to 2/3 of a British cup. An American teaspoon is slightly smaller than a British one.

travel

Skilling the French Alps

Let 'Tarzan' show you the ropes at La Plagne

By Peter Tange
Staff correspondent of
The Christian Science Monitor



Schussing La Plagne

Alpe, France
High above this Alpine village, above the old silver mine which once drew residents on a mile-high trek to work each day, is the ultra-modern ski resort of La Plagne.

It is what the French call a "Ski Station" — a resort perched up among the mountain peaks where the snow falls thickest and where ski runs begin at the very door to your apartment.

With all its impressive amenities, La Plagne rates high with the international ski set . . . but it rates higher still with residents of Alpe and Marechal. That's because La Plagne has brought an abundance of job opportunities to the region and halted a population drain that began in the 1930s.

The tale has been the same throughout much of the region since the arrival of modern resorts — Tignes, Les Arres, Courmayeur, Val Thorens — brought big-time skiing to these magnificent French Alps and put them on a par with anything the Swiss and Austrians have to offer. In Val Thorens, for instance, the French boast year-round skiing at the highest resort in Europe — 7,550 feet at the base.

The butcher, the baker, and if not the candlestickmaker, then certainly the seamstress from the local area, get first crack at the resort business concessions. The Prevost family, butchers in Alpe (population 1,500) sell meat at La Plagne. And the pastry chef there, Rene Montmeyer, once an unknown baker from neighboring Marechal (1,000 population) is now the talk of skiers from Paris, London, and New York.

Then there are the locals such as "Tarzan" (he claimed his south-of-France name was impossible for the English tongue to pronounce) who became ski instructors. In the Alps, Tarzan told me, everyone skis almost out of necessity. So the local farmer is as adept at skiing as he is at milking.

Many, after taking the necessary ski-school examinations, become expert teachers too. For

instance, Tarzan achieved the impossible by showing me that skiing moguls was not only possible but also fun. In one long chair ride up the mountainside at Val Thorens, he told me that he had traveled all around England and the United States. His earnings as a ski instructor made this possible, he said. Australia was his next travel target.

George Legay, general manager of France Ski International, the overseeing body for French ski resorts, explained the difference skiing has made to the region this way: "A farmer who will earn perhaps \$30 a month from his cows during summer, will earn as much as \$1,000 a month as a monitor (the French term for instructor) during the ski season."

La Plagne and the other resorts, obviously, have opened up many opportunities in the hotel and "people services" industries. And the village girl who wants to pursue a career in, say, desk clerking or hairdressing, may now do so without leaving the Alps. She has as much opportunity to use her creative talents here as in the salons of Paris, says Mr. Legay.

Of all the modern French resorts, La Plagne is my favorite. That's because it was at La Plagne that I first learned the delights of sliding across the snow rather than tumbling in it. I'm also intrigued by La Plagne's history.

One night in 1914 a British bomber slipped between the peaks of the Tarentaise Mountains here and dropped explosives and arms to waiting French resistance fighters.

The resistance men had climbed high that night and waited for the drop in a vast bowl, unknown except to an occasional shepherd, up among the mountain peaks. A decade later when the French Government had given the go-ahead for the building of these "Ski Stations," some of the local men remembered the area where the drop had taken place. It would make an ideal ski resort they reasoned, and the authorities readily agreed.

Today a small model plane atop a stone base near one of the telecabin commemorates the night of the arms drop — and the day La Plagne was born.

Japanese tourists invade Europe

By Philip W. Whitehead
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

The simplest of the two ways for a country to earn vital foreign currencies without stripping itself of its own goods is through royalties on patents and techniques — a prosaic and unromantic process.

The other way is by luring foreigners to come and spend their money. This process is rich in human values, a sort of perpetual cinema show. Tourists remove no part of a country's substance except a few souvenirs — and in return provide a stream of new ideas.

So far as the continent of Europe was concerned, this useful role was played by the British until after World War I, when the Americans took over. That is, until the late 1960s, when, to the astonishment of the entire continent, the Japanese replaced them.

Calm, quiet, courteous, each with his own camera, since 1973 when the big increase be-

gan (an 80 percent jump over any previous year) the Japanese can be seen in the most important streets and at the most important tourist spots. Huge sight-seeing buses with the names of their tours emblazoned on them pass through European capitals. In Paris they have built their own gigantic hotel, apparently outdoing even the American hotel chains which had been regarded as unapproachable.

In 1975, 2,450,000 Japanese left their home country to take pictures of the rest of the world, and 325,000 of them toured Europe. For the first time they outnumbered the receding Americans.

In every European country except Italy, where Italian-American cousins and grandchildren brought the U.S. 1975 total to 225,000 against Japan's 215,000, Japanese visitors predominated. Even in Germany, where war veterans often return with their families for a visit, the Japanese were 30,000 ahead. In Britain, Japanese visitors outnumbered Americans by 185,000 to 130,000.

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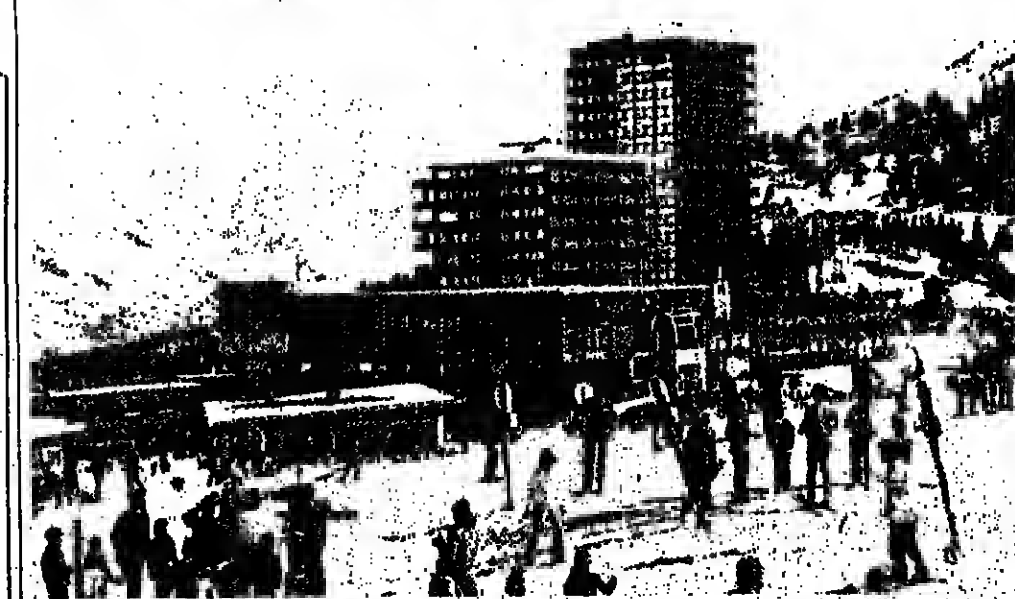
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We need theater

By Melvin Moddocks

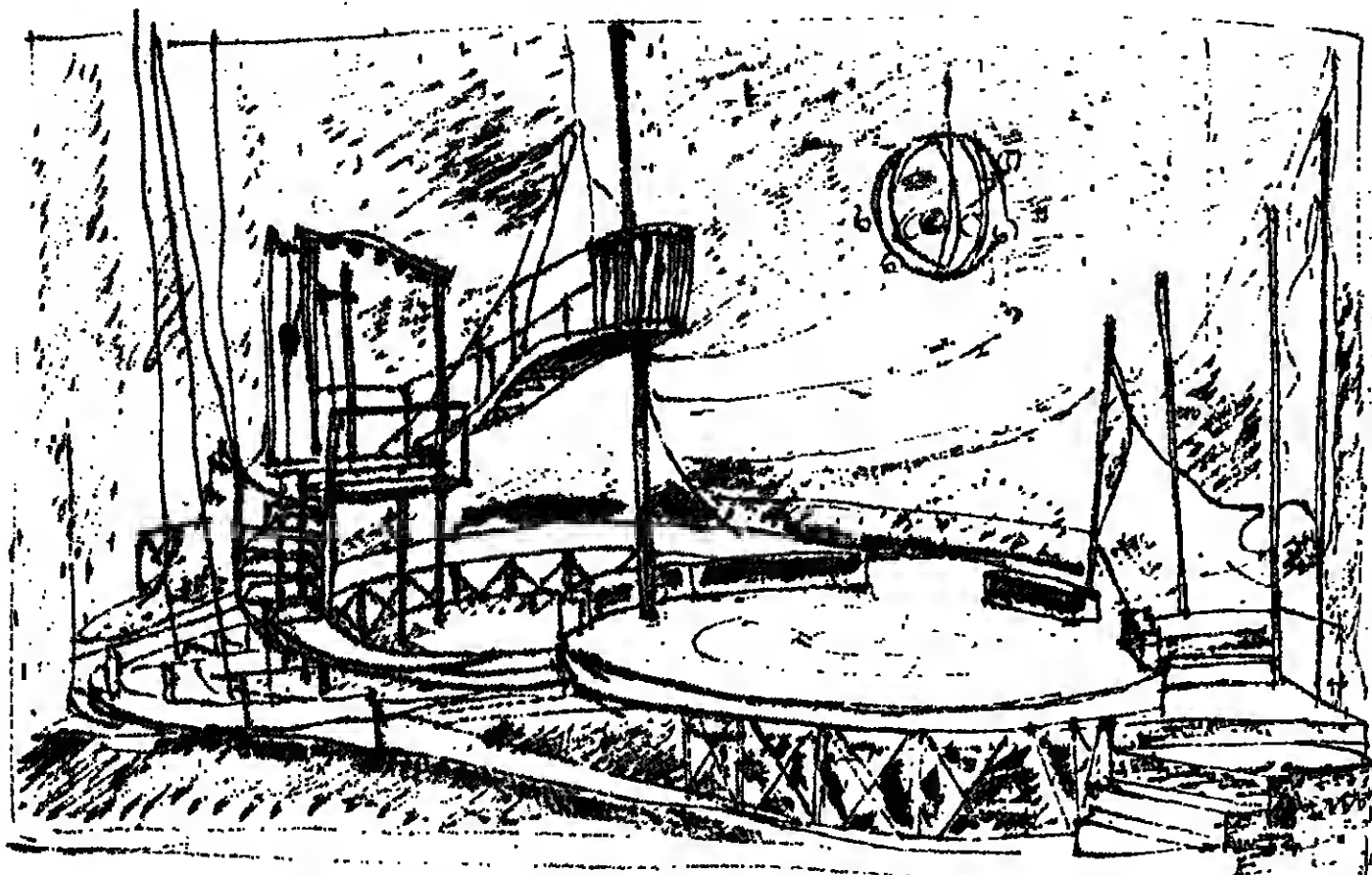
"Why theater at all? What for? Is it an anachronism, a superannuated oddity, surviving like an old monument or a quaint custom?" The slightly self-questioning — and, of course, self-questioning — is the British director Peter Brook. In the late 20th century everybody belonging to one tradition or another — the artist, the cleric, the stonemason, maybe every man and woman not engaged in space travel, computer technology, or nuclear research — must ask themselves the same question: *Am I obsolete?* But more than any other institution except perhaps the church, the theater has been forced to make this doubt its central concern, its day-to-day litany.

The church-theater parallel is hardly random. As the defenders of its faith never tire of telling us, the theater began as ritual, as ceremony. The first actors were priests, the first stage was a sacred grove. And, even at its shoddiest, the theater has never entirely lost its heritages as a holy place: a consecrated ground where men and women are transported beyond their everyday limits and see things, feel things — laugh and cry — with an intensity they seldom achieve in their lives. It might be Sophocles, it might be vaudeville. But life without theater simply could not have been imagined by most of the generations that have gone before us.

Then along came the famous substitute, the perfect synecdoche. The automobile replaced the horse. The typewriter replaced the pen. And the motion picture replaced the theater — made it not only outmoded but unnecessary, or so we tend to assume.

"I was on all sides surrounded by pictures," Proust wrote in "Remembrance of Things Past." And in his evocation of his childhood magic lantern Proust unerringly suggested the instrument of a new sensibility. How can we begin to describe all the ways in which technology has changed our habits of perception, and indeed the very substance of what we perceive? Instead of attending the theater as a member of a community, a quasi-participant, or at least a devotee, today's audience — millions in solitary — adjust three-position loungers in what used to be known as living rooms and push a button. Instant catharsis in living (well, nearly living) color! — complete to canned-audience responses on the soundtrack.

Even if one attends a film — makes oneself a theatergoer of sorts — a certain passivity remains. The magic lantern (with Pan-aramion) is such a superb fantasy-machine. Its



Courtesy of The Harvard Theatre Collection, Houghton Library, Harvard University

Stage design for Archibald MacLeish's play 'J. B.' 1958: Drawing by Boris Aronson

Images tend to take over as pure image, leading the viewer down the corridors he loved by Jean Cocteau and Alfred Hitchcock toward archetypal memories — turning him into another kind of waking dreamer.

This electronic theater is so perfectly engineered to package our fears and our desires. What chance does theater stand? After "The Exorcist," how can we be haunted by the three witches of "Macbeth"? After the expert mayhem of "The Godfather," how can the wooden swords of "Henry V" ever persuade us again?

We seem to live today, polarized between the awful responsibility of our facts and the even more awful irresponsibility of our fantasies. Why not leave "reality" to all the computers and "dreams" to all the magic lanterns?

Why theater at all? What for? But the theater doesn't disappear, like a film dissolve-shot; nor do we quite allow it to, even though it threatens to become a museum of nostalgia: the place where we go to see Sherlock Holmes and fragile old English

queens and musical revivals-of-revivals. Beneath our confidence that we are beings of the future, a motley species, do we suspect that we have not "ungrown" theater, that theater still represents some mirroring of experience we cannot neglect without becoming less than fully human? Even if we no longer know exactly what these things mean, do we still hunger for a vision as well as a profusion of visions, a hero or at least a character as well as the camera's automated by-product: personality and free-floating myth?

Are we saying snobbish things — that movies are inclined to be a solitary, self-indulgent experience; that movies are at their best when they are most like theater in their intention? Maybe. There are a lot of serious movies these days and a lot of public plays. But the idea of theater — its heritage of moral ambition — is what Brook hopefully, desperately, dares to call "necessary theater." "Fun can be forgotten," he writes. "Powerful emotion also disappears," and "good arguments lose their thread."

What then remains? The very limits of the-

ater today may be its strength. Theater lacks the capacity of even the most mediocre motion picture to swallow us up in our own senses? Good! You're on your own. And if the theater can no longer compete at sense, it can make an impression that can't be made by the senses in the marrow. Two tramps under a tree ("Waiting for Godot"), an old woman harassed in a cart ("Mother Courage") — these are more than just striking images. Witnessed face to face in the theater's unique form of confrontation, such scenes not only force us to acknowledge the loneliness of human existence, they make us suffer it. For theater, above all, is presence.

We have our dreams, our magic lanterns; we may need our theater.

When theater succeeds, "Something in the mind burns," Brook and so many others can declare. Call it catharsis or anything else. Do as — like the Greeks, like the Elizabethans — still want this "trace that searches." There is the disturbing question about theater these days. Our answer will be a measure less of theater than of ourselves.

'A new and still burgeoning continent of poems'

The New Oxford Book of American Verse, edited by Richard Ellman. New York: Oxford University Press. \$7.50.

By Victor Hovos

In the great Pantheon of American poetry, who is the representative man? Which figure, man or woman, shall step forward to speak for all Americans?

Shall it be Robert Frost, in the voice of his Drunkard Wood-chuck, coming to the doorway of his burrow to say,

My own strategic retreat
Is where two rocks almost meet
With these in mind at my back
I can sit forth exposed to attack
As one who shrewdly pretends
That he and the world are friends.

Or is Frost too ironic, too guarded, too much the Yankee to stand for the whole group?

Shall it be Wallace Stevens, stepping out from behind his Men Made of Words, to tell us that "Life consists of propositions about life . . . The whole race is a poet that writes down/The eccentric propositions of its fate." Or is Stevens too aesthetic, too much the Dandy to represent all the nation?

But if we can choose neither Yankee nor Dandy, let us be careful not to send up the Doodle.

Shall it be Walt Whitman we Americans send to our International Congress of Poets?

Ne imperturb, standing at ease in Nature,

Master of all or mistress of all, apionih in the midst of irrational things.
Imbued as they, passive, receptive, silent as they,
Finding my occupation, poverty, notoriety, foibles
erimes, less important than I thought . . .

Or is Whitman perhaps a little too over-confident, even as Emily Dickinson is so shy?

I'm Nobody! Who are you?
Are you — Nobody — too?
Then there's a pair of us!
Don't tell! they'd banish us — you know!

All this apropos of the "Oxford Book" of American Verse, handsomely edited by Richard Ellman, Michigan-born, American-educated, but currently the Goldsmiths' Professor of English Literature of Oxford University. So much for the paradox of Anglo-America.

Ellman's re-editing of this standard anthology contains few surprises. One is here, for "Jingle-man" though he was, he wrote some classic poems, "To Itchen" for example. And Longfellow is here, currently undergoing a revival, thanks in part to Robert Frost and Richard Wilbur.

E. A. Robinson and Carl Sandburg are here, consorting with rhymes Wheatley, the first American slave to publish her poems, and with Marianne Moore, who utters her now famous disclaimer: "Poetry: I, too, dislike it. There are things that are important beyond all this fiddle . . ." And here are some new faces, John Ashbery, Sylvia Plath, Allen Ginsberg, Amiri Baraka (Levi Jones). Some 70 names in all.

If no one poet leaps forth to be America's national spokes-

man, our Homer, our Dante, our Li Po, we must learn to join our poetry in the aggregate, written by a composite poet-the poet on mass whose passport is Democracy. America's not one voice, it is all voices, male and female, black and white, Yea-saying and saying "Nevermore," realist and surrealist, traditional and experimental, Maine-born and Californian.

What we are given in Ellman's anthology is a magnificent outpouring of song, a varied carol, a vision reaching to coast to coast, a new and still burgeoning continent of poems.

Victor Hovos teaches English at Northeastern University in Massachusetts.

'Navigator'

The Navigator, by Morris West. London: Collins. £3.95.

The uncomfortable professor sets out to confirm his unsubstantiated belief that an undiscovered island exists in the vast expanses of the Pacific.

The voyage, discovery, shipwreck, and survival which follow are the substance of this well-told tale.

— John Mourhead

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education

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By Cynthia Parsons
Education editor of
The Christian Science Monitor

San Diego, California

A zoo, any zoo, is an education. But perhaps the finest zoo in the world is here in San Diego. Also, I know of no zoo that has a more active education department than that directed here by Charles A. McLaughlin.

Mr. McLaughlin explains that schools generally do a pretty good job of teaching conservation and environment, but that a zoo can do something very special for the children — teach them about individual animals. And so the focus of their education division's school field trip program is on teaching the students to understand specific animals.

For example, children who visit the bird mesa are given some study questions regarding animal adaptations: "Find a parrot that is active. Look at its feet. Draw a parrot's footprint."

"Now find a jungle bird (chicken) and study its feet. Draw a jungle bird's footprint."

"Again watch the parrots. What can parrots do by using their feet that the jungle bird cannot?"

Class work dovetailed

In general, Mr. McLaughlin asserts, the aim of the zoo staff is to be as service oriented as possible, particularly for in-school visits. With this in mind, field trips for fifth- and sixth-graders focus particularly on the animals found in South America and Africa in order to complement the curriculum taught in those grades.

Mr. McLaughlin taught at the college level before coming to the San Diego Zoo, and says that he found his students well grounded in theory but with "little real working knowledge with animals themselves." So the education department cooperates full force with students working on specific animal projects.

Students from 6 to 12 have their own Koala Club News, a monthly paper put out by the zoo's education staff, and plans are under way for a similar publication for the junior high age. McDonald's Restaurants of San Diego County finance the project.

For older students, the staff, in cooperation with a local teacher, has developed a self-directed tour based on questions that help students observe special characteristics of animals such as adaptation, camouflage, and defense mechanisms.

While most of the pupils come from the area near San Diego, a local California airline provides special rates for children from the San Francisco Bay Area to make the trip down and back in a day. Last year, some 1,000 youngsters made this trip and in all more than 250,000 students visited the zoo last year under educational guidance.

The zoo staff also accommodates handicapped children and has a specialist to help with this need. Also, the staff visits schools to give assembly programs or speak to classes. Fourth- and fifth-grade pupils may have a 40-minute assembly that explains studies and live animals.

Films, discussions

Also, a zoo trip may combine visits to the animals and slide and film discussions on such topics as adaptation, endangered species, and what happens to wild animals in captivity. Thus, the zoo may show a film of rhinoceroses in the wild and then ask pupils to note the length of the horns on the captive rhinos in the zoo.

I asked what would happen if a student showed particular interest in a certain animal or in a possible career as a zoo keeper. Mr. McLaughlin assured me that the staff would cooperate in every possible way. Then, looking thoughtful, he remarked, "I really do wish that guidance counselors would explain to students that every job — no matter what it is — is 80 percent drudgery."

The interview closed on this note as we shared the "drudgery" of journalism with the "drudgery" of being an education director.

In Caribbean classrooms

By David Potter
Special to
The Christian Science Monitor

Due does not normally think of the Caribbean when looking for sweeping changes in public education. Yet, in the fall of 1976, three major advances in language of instruction and curriculum are being implemented in the Netherlands Antilles.

In this six-island nation of 250,000, a close adherence to the many-tracked, multi-lingual Dutch school system is still evident.

The most pervasive problem has been the language barrier. Dutch is the official tongue of government and the schools. The everyday speech is Papiamentu on the Leeward Islands of Aruba, Bonaire and Curaçao, while English prevails on the Windward Islands: Saint Martin, Saba, and Saint Eustatius.

Add the holiday requirement from Dutch colonial days that all school children be trained in Dutch, Spanish, and English.

Throw in an elitist system where 60 percent of the children do not pass the national examinations given at the end of basic school (sixth grade) and only 7 percent of those graduating qualify for admission to the top academic secondary schools.

The result is a form of de facto segregation which can persist well into adult life.

Solutions had to be found which would expand the educational opportunities for the majority while at the same time not dilute the high quality of education for the very bright minority at the top who could still meet the tough academic requirements for admission to European Universities. Added practical training in coping with the everyday challenges of Caribbean life was also necessary.

Two improvements have already been implemented.

With the opening of school this fall, Papiamentu now may be spoken in the first grade on the Leeward Islands and teachers will instruct in this language. In 1977, it will be extended to the second grade and so on. Dutch is still the official language.

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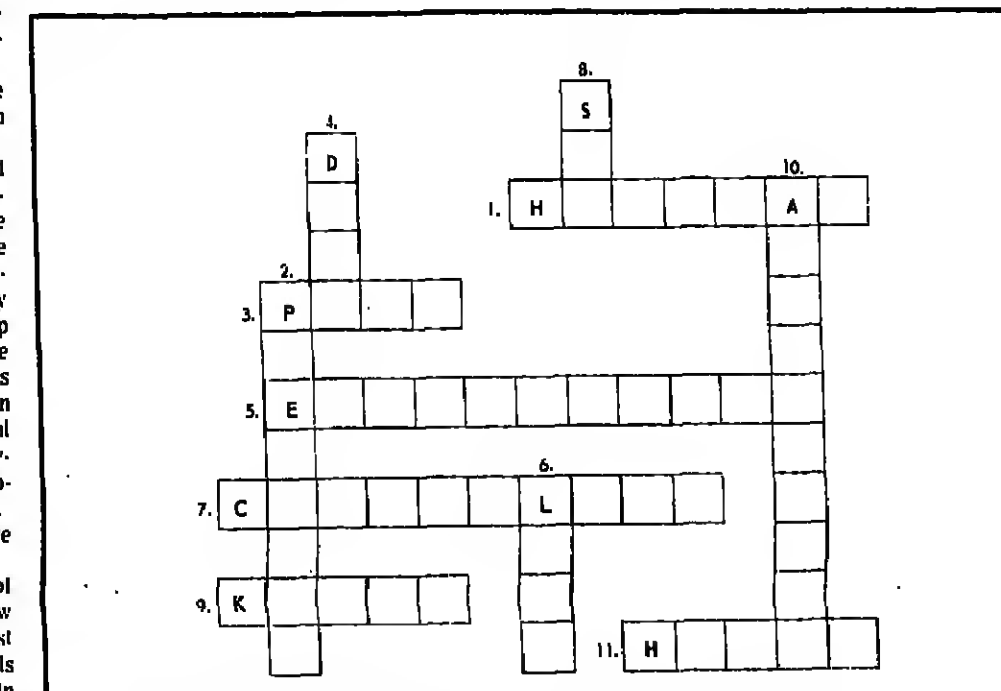
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ACROSS

- The place where an animal or plant normally lives and grows to carry its life.
- An animal that is hunted by a predator for food becomes its prey.
- All of the surrounding conditions affecting the development and behavior of a living thing is called its environment.
- Referring to its skin color and markings to blend with its natural background allows an animal to be called a cryptic.
- The ruminant tree provides all of the food requirements for the giraffe.
- The permanent brain growth on the heads of some animals are the antlers.

DOWN

- An animal that is hunted by a predator for food becomes its prey.
- One family of animals that grows antlers is the deer.
- The largest predator in Africa is the lion.
- The layers of the skin that make it well adapted for life in the desert.
- A special change in an animal's structure or behavior which helps it to fit into its habitat is called an adaptation.

Word Puzzle — Animal Adaptations
Each study area — adaptation, camouflage, defense, etc. — has its own word puzzle. Students work the puzzles after their visit to the zoo as reinforcement for what they have seen and heard.

French/German

Le taux de la natalité des Arabes israéliens diminue

par Jason Morris

Shefaram, Israël
Il se peut que les Israéliens juifs n'aient plus à se faire beaucoup de souci parce que la minorité arabe qui se trouve chez eux pourrait un jour les dépasser en nombre — comme ils l'ont craint pendant longtemps.

Un niveau de vie de plus en plus élevé et une instruction universelle comprenant des filles arabes aussi bien que des garçons ont eu pour résultat des changements radicaux dans le taux de la natalité des Arabes, le faisant diminuer constamment jusqu'au niveau de celui de la majorité juive.

Le vrai problème, d'après Mme Laila Hubily Shilewet, une assistante sociale énergique qui vit dans cette pittoresque ville arabe de la Galilée centrale, est que les juifs de ce pays ne sont souvent pas informés de ce qui se passe dans la communauté arabe.

« Les femmes travaillent maintenant », commente-t-elle par dire, afin d'expliquer les antécédents qui avaient conduit à une diminution régulière de l'importance numérique des familles modernes arabes israéliennes.

« Les enfants ont besoin d'être instruits, vêtus et finalement envoyés à l'université. Ces choses coûtent cher de nos jours. C'est pourquoi les couples arabes israéliens sensés ne veulent pas avoir plus de quatre enfants. »

Elle soutient que les tendances qui prennent pied ici sont semblables à celles d'autres communautés arabes modernes, telles que celles du Liban et de l'Égypte, dans lesquelles les couples ont moins d'enfants que n'en avaient ceux de la génération précédente.

Un coup d'œil au relevé des statistiques du gouvernement israélien pour l'année dernière tend à donner raison aux observations de Mme Shilewet.

Il indique que le pourcentage de naissances viables, bien que deux fois plus élevé dans le secteur arabe comparativement au secteur juif, a diminué depuis 1970 tandis que celui du secteur juif n'a augmenté.

« Notre ville, Shefaram, avait le taux de naissances le plus élevé en Israël il y a quelques années, poursuit-elle, mais ce n'est plus le cas maintenant. »

En général les couples se marient plus tard — les filles à 19 ans et les gar-

çons à 25, bien que la loi leur permette de se marier à 17 ans.

Les couples ne sont plus d'accord pour emménager avec leur belle-famille, comme ils le faisaient auparavant.

« Ils veulent tous une demeure à part ou un appartement, même si cela signifie qu'ils devront se contenter d'une seule pièce pour commencer », affirme Mme Shilewet.

« Les choses ne sont plus ce qu'elles ont été. Les jeunes mères n'apportent plus leurs bébés chez leurs belles-mères pour les placer dans la chambre à coucher principale juste entre les deux lits jumeaux. Les jeunes couples arabes israéliens exigent d'avoir des chambres à coucher séparées pour leurs enfants — quelque chose que les vieux ne peuvent comprendre. »

« Mais de telles choses coûtent cher, et cela signifie que les femmes aussi bien que les maris doivent travailler — comme mon mari et moi. »

Elle donna des exemples en citant le nombre d'enfants par employé de l'agence de Nazareth dans laquelle elle travaille :

« Jehan en a trois — deux garçons et une fille. Larissa en a deux — un garçon et une fille et j'en ai deux — deux filles. »

Ces familles arabes, relativement peu nombreuses comparativement à celles des générations précédentes sont le résultat du changement du rôle de femmes ici.

« Avant, explique Mme Shilewet, le travail d'une femme arabe était d'avoir des enfants et de s'occuper de la famille. Maintenant elle fait les deux et elle travaille aussi. C'est ce qui se fait. »

Un autre facteur, cite par Mme Shilewet dans le numéro de décembre 1975 du *Gerontologist*, est la diminution de l'autorité parentale, surtout en ce qui concerne le père.

Elle fait ressortir que lorsque l'enfant appartenait au père, tout le revenu de la famille dépendait de lui. Par conséquent il avait l'autorité suprême. Mais avec l'entrée de jeunes arabes israéliens dans l'industrie et leur abandon de la culture comme moyen d'existence, la plus jeune génération se trouve dépendre moins des ordres paternels.

Comme l'écrit John Churton Collins,

Die Geburtenziffer der Araber in Israel fällt

von Jason Morris

Shefaram, Israel
Die jüdischen Israelis brauchen sich vielleicht nicht so viel Sorgen darüber zu machen, daß die unter ihnen lebende arabische Minderheit ihnen eines Tages an Zahl überlegen sein werde — wie sie es lange befürchtet haben.

Ein steigender Lebensstandard und allgemeine Schulbildung, die arabische Mädchen und Jungen einschließt, haben die Geburtenziffer der Araber drastisch gesenkt; sie fällt beständig und kommt der jüdischen Mehrheit immer näher.

Laila Hubily Shilewet, eine energische Fürsorgerin, die in dieser malerischen arabischen Stadt im mittleren Galiläa lebt, meint, das wirkliche Problem bestehe darin, daß die jüdischen Einwohner des Landes oft nicht wüßten, was in der arabischen Bevölkerung vor sich geht.

« Die Frauen gehen jetzt arbeiten », so begann sie, als sie die Umstände erklärte, die einen ständigen Rückgang in der Größe einer in Israel lebenden arabischen Familie von heute bewirken.

« Kinder müssen gekleidet, in die Schule und schließlich auf die Universität geschickt werden. Diese Dinge sind

heutzutage so teuer. Und aus diesem Grunde haben vernünftige, in Israel lebende arabische Ehepaare nicht mehr als vier Kinder. »

Sie meinte, daß sich die Dinge hier ähnlich entwickelten wie in anderen arabischen Gemeinwesen, z.B. im Libanon und in Ägypten, wo die Ehepaare jetzt weniger Sprößlinge haben als in der vorhergehenden Generation.

Ein Blick auf die von der israelischen Regierung aufgestellte Statistik für vergangenes Jahr bestätigt Laila Shilewets Beobachtungen.

Daraus geht hervor, daß die Geburtenziffer der Araber, obgleich sie bei ihnen doppelt so hoch war wie die der jüdischen Bevölkerung, seit 1970 fällt, während sie in den jüdischen Kreisen steigt.

« Unsere Stadt Shefaram hatte vor einigen Jahren die höchste Geburtenziffer in ganz Israel », fuhr sie fort, « aber dies ist nicht mehr der Fall. »

Im Durchschnitt heiraten die jungen Leute später — die Mädchen mit 19 und die jungen Männer mit 25 Jahren, obgleich sie laut Gesetz mit 17 Jahren eine Ehe eingehen können.

Im Gegensatz zu früher sind die jungen Leute nicht mehr bereit, bei ihren Eltern oder Schwiegereltern zu wohnen.

« Sie wollen alle ein Haus oder eine Wohnung für sich haben », sagte Laila Shilewet, selbst wenn das bedeutet, daß sie anfangs nur in einem Raum wohnen.

« Die Dinge sind nicht mehr, wie sie früher waren: Die jungen Mütter bringen nicht mehr ihre Kinder zu ihren Schwiegermüttern und legen sie in deren Schlafzimmer mitten auf das Ehebett. Die jungen in Israel lebenden arabischen Eltern bestehen auf getrennten Schlafzimmern für ihre Kinder — etwas, was die alten Leute nicht verstehen können. »

Aber solche Dinge kosten Geld, und das bedeutet, daß nicht nur die Männer, sondern auch die Ehefrauen arbeiten müssen — wie mein Mann und ich. »

Als Beispiel erzählte sie uns, wie viele Kinder jeder Angestellte im Büro in Nazareth hat, in dem sie arbeitet:

« Jehan hat drei — zwei Jungen und ein Mädchen. Larissa hat zwei — einen Jungen und ein Mädchen, und ich

habe zwei — zwei Töchter. »

Diese verhältnismäßig kleinen arabischen Familien, verglichen mit früheren Generationen, sind das Ergebnis davon, daß die Rolle der Frau hier einen Wandel erlebt hat.

« Früher », erklärte Laila Shilewet, « bestand die Aufgabe der arabischen Frauen darin, Kinder zu gebären und die Familie zu versorgen. Sie tun die auch heute noch, aber sie gehen außerdem arbeiten, wie ich. »

Ein weiterer Punkt, den Laila Shilewet in einer gerontologischen Fachzeitschrift vom Dezember 1975 erwähnte, ist die Tatsache, daß die Autorität der Eltern vor allem des Vaters, abnimmt.

Sie wies darauf hin, daß zu der Zeit, als das Land Eigentum des Vaters war, die Familie ihr Einkommen allein ihm zu verdanken hatte. Daher gab es die höchste Autorität. Aber jetzt, wo die jungen in Israel lebenden Araber in die Industrie arbeiten und die Landwirtschaft als eine Einkommensquelle aufgeben, läßt sich die jüngere Generation weniger von ihren Eltern vorschreiben.

Israeli Arab birthrate declining

By Jason Morris

Shefaram, Israel
Jewish Israelis may not have to worry so much about the Arab minority in their midst one day outnumbering them — as they have long feared.

Increasing living standards and universal education that includes Arab girls as well as boys have resulted in radical changes in the Arab birth rate, bringing it steadily down toward that of the Jewish majority.

The real problem, according to Mrs. Laila Hubily Shilewet, an energetic social worker who lives in this picturesque Arab town in central Galilee, is that the country's Jews often are misinformed about developments in its Arab community.

« Women are working now », she began, by way of explaining the background that has led to the steady reduction of the modern Israeli Arab family's size.

« Children need to be educated, clothed, and

eventually sent to university. These things are so expensive nowadays. That's why sensible Israeli Arab couples would not have more than four. »

She contended that the trends taking hold here are similar to those in other modern Arab communities, such as those of Lebanon and Egypt, in which couples are having fewer offspring than the previous generation.

A glance at the Israeli Government's statistical abstract for last year tends to bear out Mrs. Shilewet's observations.

It shows that the percentage of live births, although twice as high in the Arab sector compared with the Jewish, has been declining since 1970 while that of the Jewish sector has been increasing.

« Our town, Shefaram, had the highest birthrate in Israel a few years ago », she went on, « but that is not the case any more. »

The average couple gets married later —

girls at 19 and boys at 25, despite the fact that the law permits them to wed at 17.

Couples no longer agree to move in with their parents or in-laws, as before.

« They all want a separate home or apartment », Mrs. Shilewet said, even if it means starting out in one room.

« Things are not the way they used to be: Young mothers no longer bring their babies home to their mothers-in-law and place them in the master bedroom smack in the middle of the twin beds. Young Israeli Arab couples insist on separate bedrooms for their infants — something the old folks cannot understand. »

« But such things cost money, and this means that wives as well as husbands have to work — like my husband and me. »

She gave examples by listing the number of children per worker in the Nazareth agency where she is employed:

« Jehan has three — two boys and a girl. Larissa has two — a boy and a girl, and I have two — two daughters. »

These relatively diminutive Arab families compared to previous generations are the result of the changing role of women here.

« Before », Mrs. Shilewet explained, « an Arab woman's job was to bear children and take care of the family. Now they do both and they work, too. I do it. »

Another factor, cited by Mrs. Shilewet in the December, 1975, issue of the *Gerontologist*, is the decrease in parental authority, especially with regard to the father.

She points out that when the land was owned by the father, all of the family's income was thanks to him. Therefore, he had supreme authority. But with the entry of young Israeli Arabs into industry and their abandonment of farming as a source of livelihood, the younger generation finds itself less dependent on paternal dictates.

French/German

[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Traduction de l'article religieux paru en anglais sur la page The Home Forum
(Une traduction française est publiée chaque semaine)

Epouvanter les corneilles

La plupart des gens — pour paraphraser une remarque humoristique — peuvent résister à tout sauf à la tentation. Et s'il n'y avait pas de tentation, l'humanité atteindrait le millénium facilement et rapidement.

Pourtant notre insuccès à traiter la tentation en tant qu'individus aboutit à notre insuccès à traiter la tentation en tant que nations. Individuellement ou collectivement, nous sommes tentés d'être méfiants, critiques, haineux. Nous sommes tentés de convoiter, d'être envieux ou jaloux. Nous sommes tentés, en fait, d'enfreindre chacun des Dix Commandements.

Mais quand nous sommes tentés, il y a toujours un moyen d'échapper à la tentation. Aucune tentation ne vous est survenue qui n'ait été humaine, écrit saint Paul, et Dieu, qui est fidèle, ne permettra pas que vous soyez tentés au-delà de vos forces; mais avec la tentation il préparera aussi le moyen d'en sortir, afin que vous puissiez la supporter. »

Où, le moyen d'échapper à la tentation est divinement fourni; et si un plus grand nombre de gens ne se servent pas de ce moyen, c'est simplement parce qu'ils ne le recherchent pas. Ils acceptent la responsabilité de leurs tentations et s'y soumettent. Cependant nous ne sommes absolument pas responsables de nos tentations.

Comme l'écrit John Churton Collins,

« L'homme est tenté par le malin, mais il n'est pas vaincu par lui. Il est tenté par le malin, mais il n'est pas vaincu par lui. Il est tenté par le malin, mais il n'est pas vaincu par lui. »

Man sagt im Scherz, daß alle meisten Menschen allem widerstehen könnten, nur nicht der Versuchung. Und wäre es nicht die Versuchung, würde die Menschheit das Tausendjährige Reich leicht und schnell erreichen.

Wenn wir jedoch die Versuchung nicht individuell meistern, können wir sie auch als Volk nicht überwinden. Wir fallen individuell oder kollektiv in Versuchung, zu mißtrauen, zu kritisieren, zu hasen. Wir sind der Versuchung ausgesetzt, zu beghehen, nehmlich oder eifersüchtig zu sein — ja, jedes einzelne der zehn Gebote zu übertreten.

Aber wenn wir in Versuchung kommen, gibt es immer einen Ausweg. Es hat euch noch keine menschliche Versuchung betroffen », schreibt Paulus. « Aber Gott ist getreu, der euch nicht läßt versuchen über euer Vermögen, sondern macht, daß die Versuchung so ein Ende gewinne, daß ihr's aushalten könnt. »

Ja, Gott zeigt uns den Ausweg. Und wenn nicht mehr Menschen den Ausweg wählen, dann hat dies seinen Grund einfach darin, daß sie nicht nach dem Ausweg suchen. Sie übernehmen die Verantwortung für ihre Versuchungen und handeln entsprechend. Dennoch sind wir nicht für unsere Versuchungen verantwortlich.

John Churton Collins, ein englischer Schriftsteller, schreibt: « Wir sind ebenso wenig verantwortlich für die bösen Ge-

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l'écrivain anglais: « Nous ne sommes pas plus responsables des pensées mauvaises qui traversent notre esprit que ne l'est un épouvantail des corneilles qui vole au-dessus de la parcelle de terrain ensemencée qu'il doit garder. La seule responsabilité dans chaque cas est de veiller à ce qu'elles ne s'y installent pas. »

Ce n'est pas un péché que d'être tenté. Toutefois, céder à la tentation est un péché. Même Christ Jésus « a été tenté comme nous en toutes choses, sans commettre de péché ». Jésus fut suffisamment sage pour rechercher et trouver le moyen d'échapper à la tentation.

« L'histoire du christianisme, écrit Mary Baker Eddy, qui a découvert et fondé la Science Chrétienne », fournit des preuves sublimes de l'influence vivifiante et du pouvoir protecteur conférés à l'homme par son Père céleste, l'Entendement omnipotent, qui donne à l'homme la foi et la compréhension nécessaires pour se défendre, non seulement contre la tentation, mais encore contre la souffrance physique. »

Quand nous sommes aux prises avec la tentation, il ne nous faut qu'un instant pour demander à Dieu de nous montrer le moyen d'y échapper. Et si notre requête est vraiment sincère, le moyen d'échapper est toujours à portée de la main.

Quand nous apprenons à nous identifier en tant que fils et filles de Dieu, n'ayant d'autre entendement que Son Entendement entièrement parfait, alors nous pouvons exercer notre droit divin de rejeter les oiseaux de la tentation en nous appuyant sur le fait qu'ils ne sont pas réellement les impulsions de notre propre pensée.

De cette façon nous pouvons disperser les oiseaux prédateurs — les pensées mauvaises — et les empêcher de s'installer. Et s'ils ne peuvent pas s'installer sur les ter-

raines ensemencées de notre pensée, ils ne peuvent prendre la forme du péché ou de la maladie dans notre existence.

Paul nous assure que le moyen d'en sortir est toujours à portée de la main. Souvenez-vous simplement de demander au Père de vous le donner. Vous n'avez qu'à le demander pour le recevoir.

1 Corinthiens 10:13; « Maxims and Reflections » (Maxims et réflexions), p. 111; 1 Pierre 4:15; Science et Santé avec la Clef des Écritures, p. 387.

« Christian Science » prononcer « Kristien » « sains »

La traduction française du livre d'étude de la Science Chrétienne, « Science et Santé avec la Clef des Écritures » de Mary Baker Eddy, existe avec la table anglaise en regard. On peut l'acquiescer dans les Salles de Lecture de la Science Chrétienne, ou le commander à Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

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[This religious article appears in English on the Home Forum page]

Übersetzung des auf der Home-Forum-Seite in englisch erscheinenden religiösen Artikels
(Eine deutsche Übersetzung erscheint wöchentlich)

Die Vögel verscheuchen

Man sagt im Scherz, daß alle meisten Menschen allem widerstehen könnten, nur nicht der Versuchung. Und wäre es nicht die Versuchung, würde die Menschheit das Tausendjährige Reich leicht und schnell erreichen.

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Genüß als sein ganz und gar vollkommenes Gemüt hinan, dann können wir unser göttliches Recht anrufen und die Vögel, die Versuchungen, auf der Grundlage zurückweisen, daß sie in Wirklichkeit nicht die Impulse unseres eigenen Denkens sind.

Auf diese Weise können wir die Unruhe — die bösen Gedanken — verscheuchen und verhindern, daß sie sich niederlassen. Und wenn sie sich nicht auf dem Saatfeld unseres Denkens niederlassen können, können sie sich in unserem Leben nicht in Form von Sünde oder Krankheit zeigen.

Paulus versichert uns, daß der Ausweg immer zur Hand ist. Wir müssen nur daran denken, den himmlischen Vater zu bitten, ihn uns zu zeigen. Wir brauchen nur zu fragen.

1. Korinther 10:13; « Maxims and Reflections », S. 111; 1. Petrus 4:15; « Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift », S. 387.

« Christian Science » spricht « Kristien » « sains »

Das deutsche Übersetzung des Lehrbuchs der Christlichen Wissenschaft, « Wissenschaft und Gesundheit mit Schlüssel zur Heiligen Schrift » von Mary Baker Eddy, ist mit dem englischen Text auf der gegenüberliegenden Seite erhältlich. Das Buch kann in den Leserräumen der Christlichen Wissenschaft gekauft werden oder von Frances C. Carlson, Publisher's Agent, One Norway Street, Boston, Massachusetts, U.S.A. 02115.

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Sleighride in the Alps, Sertiget, Switzerland

OPINION AND...

Charles W. Yost

The next 10 years could be happier

It is customary at this season to contrast the outgoing and the incoming year and to express a modest hope that the new one may be less flawed than the old.

Actually, at this centennial turning point in time, there are deeper grounds for being hopeful, and so much for the next year as for the next decade. Still, in making such a speculation one must keep in mind Barbara Trichman's warning: "You cannot extrapolate any curve in which the human element appears."

While it did not seem so at the time, in retrospect one could say that the United States after World War II experienced what was in some respects a golden age. It had a sense of power, a sense of mission, and a sense of virtue. Each sense was partly justified.

The U.S. had won great wars in Europe and the Pacific. It had created the Marshall Plan and NATO, transmuting and safeguarding Europe. It had carried out a technological revolution and enjoyed its longest stretch of virtually uninterrupted prosperity. America had four outstanding presidents — Roosevelt, Truman, Eisenhower, and Kennedy — each remarkable in his own way. It had immeasurably the strongest armed forces and the most productive economy in the world. It at long last had established the equality in fact of its largest

ethnic minority. It had created a vast national apparatus to succeed and sustain its power.

Then, suddenly and shockingly, came the years of the locust, a decade of disaster and loss of faith.

In relentless succession, and without reasonable explanation from U.S. leaders, came the prolonged and senseless bloodletting and defeat in Vietnam, the seeming collapse of both its military and its moral predominance, the alienation of its young, top-heavy government, and top-heavy conglomerates distorting its free society, the disappointment and anger of its urban ghettos, the presumption and corruption of Watergate, the dislocation of the economy, the anguish of unemployment, and, finally and consequently, the precipitate decline of national confidence and individual moral values.

If one analyzed these disasters one saw they were of two kinds — those that arose from excessive pretensions and expectations and those that arose from bad management. Neither was inevitable. Both are corrigible now, the first by a modesty of ends and means more appropriate to America's real resources and its traditional values, the second by a wiser administration less subservient to vested interests either of rich or poor.

There is therefore no necessary reason why

America's next decade should not be a happier one — not a return to the naive complacency of the two postwar decades, but a sensible adjustment to what the U.S. is beginning to perceive are the imperatives of a new time. What would be a national posture adapted to that time and to its real capabilities?

Doubtless a society cannot be healthy on a diet of "no growth," but equally certainly it can thrive better if it grows less extravagantly in every direction at once. Economic growth must be governed by available supplies and optimum sources of energy, by the waning capacity of the U.S. environment to tolerate human abuse, by due regard for the social and psychological consequences of waste and maldistribution. Government at all levels must reestablish public confidence in its honesty, its effectiveness, its impartiality, its willingness to accept popular scrutiny and popular participation.

These are all lessons the last decade has taught. While they are far from having been fully learned, they can be brought home to us in coming years by courageous leadership, speaking especially from what Theodore Roosevelt called the "bully pulpit," the White House.

Similarly wise leadership, America's and

others, operating in the soberer climate of the next decade, can wind down the competition in cruel and unusable weapons in which the U.S. has so senselessly embroiled itself, can demonstrate that global interdependence is not a phrase but a fact, and move much more decisively from confrontation to dialogue in East-West and North-South relations.

There is nothing impossible or unreasonable about these new dimensions, but neither is there anything certain or easy about them. Mahatma Gandhi was once asked what he thought of Western civilization. After a pause he replied, "I don't think it would be a bad idea."

The West, particularly the United States, if it has even modest pretensions to more than technological leadership in the new era, must show more by practice and less by preaching what its civilization can be and do, for itself and others. Leadership demands responsibility and discipline, most of all from the leaders.

If the U.S. misses the new opportunities and drifts on in its old ways, the next decade, by compounding the vices of the last one, could place us all, West and East, North and South, in graver peril than we have ever been in before.

— 1976 Charles W. Yost

Joseph C. Harsch

Puerto Rico: the case against statehood

Statehood for Puerto Rico is a different matter than statehood was for Alaska and Hawaii.

There was one strong argument against bringing Alaska and Hawaii into the American Union. They are noncontiguous territories. History teaches that extending sovereignty over noncontiguous areas is always difficult and usually short lasting. (The English even have trouble with the contiguous Scots and Welsh.)

In the case of Alaska and Hawaii that negative argument was outweighed by a cultural fact. By the time the two were admitted to statehood in 1959 their populations were dominated by persons who had gone to them from the mainland of the United States. Their language, their outlook, and their cultural composition was an outgrowth of mainstream America.

True, a majority of the peoples in the Hawaiian Islands today trace their ancestry from elsewhere. The World Almanac lists "Caucasians" at 38.8 percent of the population. The second largest group are those of Japanese origin at 23.3 percent. The rest include many from the Philippines and China, and a few genuine Hawaiians. The original Hawaiians, once numerous, were decimated by the ailments

brought to them by white seamen and settlers. Their language has all but disappeared. The number of pure-blooded Hawaiians is negligible. Remnants of their culture survive as tourist attractions. Culturally, the population of the Hawaiian Islands has been blended into mainland America.

The same is true of Alaska, but even more so. Roughly one-seventh of the population of about 300,000 is made up of Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts. The overwhelming majority of the population is indistinguishable from people from Kansas, or any other part of mainland America.

Puerto Rico is not like that. Mainstream Americans are there largely as tourists. There are a few others, yes. But, in the words of the Encyclopedia Britannica, "Puerto Rico's culture has strong roots in the Hispanic world. The language, the literature, the arts, and the surviving folklore link Puerto Rico with Latin America." And it is noncontiguous.

When President Ford proposes that Puerto Rico be admitted to statehood in the American Union he is proposing a step which is not favored by a majority of the population. Their conscious kinships are more with Cubans than

with people in the United States.

Thus statehood for Puerto Rico would appear in the outside world not as Americans bringing their own kind into their Union, but as Americans trying to annex a territory inhabited by a culturally different people. At the very least it would make a useful propaganda argument for the Soviets. We may be sure it would be used by the Kremlin with some effect throughout Latin America and elsewhere.

It is perfectly true that the American association is an economic advantage to the people of Puerto Rico. They have the highest per capita wealth of any of the Latin American countries. They are better off materially than are the people of Cuba. A different way of saying it is that Washington subsidizes Puerto Rico more generously than Moscow subsidizes Cuba. But that does not mean that Puerto Ricans want to become Americans, any more than does the Soviet subsidy make Cubans want to learn to speak Russian and become subjects of the masters of the Kremlin.

Obviously, it would be contrary to the interests of the United States to let Cuba draw Puerto Rico into the Soviet orbit. The Soviet beachhead of influence in Cuba is a thorn in the American side, and will continue to be so

as long as this anomaly survives. But it is an anomaly. Cubans have little in common with Slavs from the steppes of Russia. To the Cubans, the Slavs are merely a useful device for keeping themselves from being overwhelmed by what is to them another alien culture. If Cubans lived under Russia's eyes they would undoubtedly be looking to Washington for help.

But bringing Puerto Rico into the American Union is no proper or long-term answer to the problem of getting the Soviet bear out of the cane fields of Cuba.

The proper and ideal solution would be a federation of the Central American republics of Spanish background. None of them is prosperous enough or politically strong enough now to make it work. But at least Washington should refrain from any step which would block progress in that direction. Anything done now should point toward, not away from, the day when the Latin republics could form a union strong enough politically and economically to be truly independent of both Moscow and Washington.

That day may be a long way off. It could be kept in mind as a long-term goal. It would be the wisest way of getting the bears out of those Cuban cane fields.

COMMENTARY

India's 'quiet revolution'

By David R. Francis

The next economic success story among underdeveloped countries could be India.

So much attention has been devoted to Prime Minister Indira Gandhi's repression of her political opposition that the dramatic economic change for the better has gone practically unnoticed.

Jeremiah Novak, writing in the Asia Mail, calls the transformation "a silent revolution in thinking in India, more profound than any since the decision in 1961 to initiate government planning."

This revolution — basically away from Fabian socialism and toward free enterprise — preceded Mrs. Gandhi's declaration of the emergency in June, 1975, according to Mr. Novak. (Mr. Novak is a former executive with Pfizer, Inc., who had been in charge of operations in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh.)

However, the changes have accelerated since the emergency and now are having an impact on the economic picture.

For instance, India's output of goods and services was up 10.6 percent in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1976. Wholesale prices actually declined 12 percent in 1975.

Exports in fiscal 1976 were up 10 percent at a time when world trade in general declined 6 percent. India, as a result, has a sizable balance of payments surplus and was able to pay back a World Bank loan in advance.

Mr. Novak cites one American businessman as saying: "It is India, not China, that represents the great market of the future, and my company is putting its best men to work on capitalizing on the new environment."

The new environment results from such changes as these:

- The government radically overhauled its program of price controls, thereby virtually eliminating the black market.

- Beginning in July, 1974, the government took effective control of the nation's money supply. It in effect followed the recommendations of Nobel prize-winning economist Milton Friedman. This brought inflation under control.

- Income taxes were reduced by more than one third. This reduced the impact of "black money" — unreported income. The wealth tax was also trimmed from a confiscatory level of 8 percent to 2 percent.

- Notorious industrial licensing rules that

had imposed production and other limitations on the private sector were gradually withdrawn or liberalized by a series of letters issued by the Minister of Industries.

- The government moved from a policy of import substitution to one of export promotion. Imports were liberalized in 1974. This reduced scarcity-induced high prices and almost wiped out smuggling and black markets. Export incentives also were increased.

- Government-owned enterprises were directed to become more efficient, increase capacity utilization, and increase profits. As a result, the output of the public sector grew 16 percent and turned in handsome profits for the first time.

- The government dramatically increased funds for irrigation. Nearly 2.9 million hectares were being irrigated in the past two years.

- The government boosted prices for farm products, thereby stimulating production. Agricultural output, aided by good monsoons, grew by 18 percent. India could build up some grain reserves.

To prevent city dwellers from suffering from the higher prices, food has been subsidized to keep prices low.

- India has stepped up its efforts to woo foreign investment.

- Mrs. Gandhi also has taken drastic measures to limit population growth. This issue, notes Mr. Novak, has taken the place of normal political debate in India.

What the silent revolution means for the world is that India is once more back in the economic horse race with China.

Its economic leaders have consciously rejected the Soviet model, where industrial development would be at the expense of agriculture.

The Fabian socialist preference for state-owned enterprises and hostility to private enterprise has been at least repressed. Maoism, with its emphasis on agriculture, has lost the economic debate.

Instead, India has chosen what Mr. Novak terms an "economic realist model" — where efficiency in both the private and public sector is emphasized and where the goal is a social economy along Swedish lines.

It is an important decision for the world's second most populous nation and, perhaps surprising to some, a sizable industrial power.

New Year's Day — everybody's amnesty

Melvin Maddocks

Calendars are the arbitrary inventions of pagan priests and Roman emperors. Time is a tick here, a tick there — a space in the mind. And yet there are moments that become more than just uncounted grains of sand in a bottomless hour glass. There are times we want to remember, times we choose to celebrate, times we pin flags to and say: This is it.

New Year's Day, far from its abuse, remains one of those occasions — not so much a measuring point in time as in human aspirations. So once a year we go a little innocent, a little primitive, and like a tribe of nomads, dance around this prime number — this beginning of beginnings — as if it were a totem pole, chanting to ourselves all sorts of foolishness ("Yes, I'll try again. One more time. And this time, better. . .").

Like most holidays, New Year's Day probably began as a rite of harvest. The American Indians celebrated it in August, at the gleaming season. But even their New Year's Day had the purpose of renewal, of rebirth, that makes it — or should make it — a holy day. The Cheerokees, for instance, used to burn all their old clothes and utensils and scrupulously clean house, then ceremoniously extinguish old fires and rekindle new ones.

The Association of New Year's Day with purification, with regeneration, with a "new lease on life" seems to go back to prehistoric man. The ruckus and din of New Year's Eve originated as ceremonies to dramatize the demons of chaos, and then drive them out.

It was not until 153 B.C. that January became the first

month of the year. The significance of the move (from March 25, the vernal equinox) is this: New Year's Day, January 1, became one of the first holidays not to be related to seasonal rhythms but to man's intentions. For this New Year's Day was the day after the Romans elected their emperors, representing a new regime, a new order.

Each New Year's Day is a Promised Land. A new world stands created. Life starts over. The gifts that have been New Year's Day traditions — earthenware flasks among the Egyptians, mistletoe plants among the Druids, gloves among the English — originally were meant to suggest that the giver was a new man or woman, purged of last year's flaws.

Making January the first month of the year, rather than March, left the Roman calendar looking silly. September, October, November, and December are still linguistically trapped as mistaken labels for the seventh, eighth, ninth, and tenth months. But there is an appropriateness to January that compensates. January was named for Janus, the Roman deity with double faces, who could look in two directions at once.

On New Year's Day each of us becomes his own Janus. For one cannot even dream of the future without

a sense of the past. All voyages, including voyages in time, must have a point of departure as well as a destination or they are meaningless, and New Year's Day stipulates continuity as well as newness.

New Year's Day is — or can be — the blessed interval in the Great Catch-Up Game everybody's life tends to become. New Year's Day is like a rest in music: the silence between a note just ended and a note yet unheard. New Year's Day is an instant of perfect balance — when the pendulum is neither ticking nor locking, when the tide is neither going out nor coming in.

It is, above all holidays, a holiday of necessity. If this proscribed stillness did not exist, it would have to be invented. We need that extra breath between inhaling and exhaling — that split second of equilibrium when we are forgiven for coming from nowhere and going no place.

"I saw three ships come sailing in/ On New Year's Day in the morning" — this is the hope characteristic of New Year's Day. And if you can't hope on New Year's Day, when can you hope? Energies go reckless. Projects dance in the mind. And the resolutions — oh, the resolutions!

But there is a hope to New Year's Day beyond the tangible hopes of one's ship coming in. If we play January 1st right, we live for a day, like a prehistoric man or a child, at the point of infinity where life is not a doing but a being — not a stage full of plots and alarms but a vista. Not a hope but a state of hope.

Then, of course, comes January 2nd.

Joseph C. Harsch

Who has the best Navy?

The annual defense debate will certainly be more lively and probably will be even less judicious in the year ahead than it was in the year behind.

The Ford administration avoided final decision on some of the more controversial items. The decisions probably can no longer be postponed. That means a donnybrook ahead among those who want new weapons for their own sake, those who want them because they make profits, those who want them because they make jobs, and those who think much of the defense budget is a waste of taxpayer money which could better be spent on servicing American people directly.

The subject is much too large to handle in the space of one column, but as a beginning to a study of one part of the subject I find particularly helpful an article by U.S. Admiral Slansfield Turner, NATO Commander for Southern Europe, in the current issue of the magazine Foreign Affairs, on the subject of the "Naval Balance." It brings common sense to bear on the question of Soviet versus American naval power.

For example, the naval debate last year was frequently joined in terms of numbers of ships. Of that old debate Admiral Turner says: "That the United States built 122 ships over 3,000 tons in the last 15 years and the U.S.S.R. only 37, as recently reported, has no meaning by itself, other than to refute another set of il-

logical statistics, such as was recently reported in a respected news magazine, that the Soviet Navy totals more than 3,300 ships and the U.S. Navy 478. This latter comparison requires counting every 75-foot tugboat and barge and comparing it to who knows what."

On reading that paragraph I turned to the generally accepted source for military facts and figures, the annual "Military Balance" published by the International Institute for Strategic Studies. They credit the American Navy with 474 ships of which 129 are listed as logistics and operations support ships. They credit the Soviets with 1,350 ships of which 120 are coastal mine sweepers, 60 are landing craft, and 45 are depot repair ships. There is no basis whatever in this material for the figure of 3,300 Soviet ships. In other words, the naval debate in the past has involved a numbers racket in which all sides hurl largely meaningless and often suspect numbers at each other.

Admiral Turner points out that there are five different things which can be done by the ships of the Soviet and American Navies. For a meaningful comparison of relative strength it is necessary to estimate capabilities in each of these four areas.

Both have what he calls a "wide range" of "strategic deterrence." That is, both have fleets of modern submarines carrying strategic nuclear weapons which are targeted against

major cities and industrial areas in the opposing country. But these submarines exist solely and exclusively for that single strategic purpose. They have no other military capability. They can't fight each other or other warships or put marines ashore or even "show the flag." Their function is to cruise out of sight and silently on ceaseless patrol to assure "deterrence."

Second, both navies have a "wide range" of ability to exercise "sea presence," which means showing the flag in peacetime to support the foreign policies of the country. The Soviets by now have enough ships and enough experience in keeping them supplied at long distances from home port to be able to send their flag into almost any port in the world which is open to them. So, of course, can the U.S. Navy.

Third comes "sea control" and here is where recent Soviet shipbuilding activity has altered the situation. Through the Korean war and almost to the end of the Vietnam war the United States had undisputed and exclusive control of the major sea lanes of the world. The Soviets did not possess ships capable of cruising at long distances from home port. They did not have the means to interfere with American control of the sea lanes. Now they do have some, and growing ability to attempt to deny American control. But they do not yet have the ability to assert Soviet control. The U.S. Navy

still has both "assertion and denial" capability. Fourth is "projection of power ashore." Here Admiral Turner finds the Soviets with "very limited amphibious" capability but the United States with "wide-ranging tactical air and amphibious" capability. This means the U.S. Navy with its huge aircraft carriers can still do what it did in the Korean and Vietnam wars. It can control the sea approaches to a theater of action, launch amphibious forces to the shore, and cover their landings and their operations ashore by air. But, this is a capacity of little meaning in event of war between U.S. and U.S.S.R. forces. The big carrier is vulnerable to long-range missiles. No carrier could survive a nuclear missile blow. So the great American superiority in "projection of power ashore" counts heavily in situations short of a Soviet-American war, but counts for almost nothing in such a war.

So it isn't numbers of keels, or size of ships, that count. It is the capacity to do what might be decisive in some particular situation. Right now the Soviets are apparently reaching for improved capacity to cut the supply lines which tie together the United States and its allies in both Europe and Asia.

The essential naval debate ahead should, therefore, center on what should be done to counter this clear danger to the military security of the alliance — but not on numbers.

Mr. Harsch is the Monitor's correspondent in Bonn.